

THE Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the West India, now called new Spaine.

Atchieued by the most woorthie Prince
Hernando Cortes, Marques of the Valley of
Huaxcacac, most delectable to reade.

Translated out of the Spanish tongue, by

T. N. Anno. 1578.
Nicholas



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To the right Honourable

Sir Francis Walsingham Knight, principall
Secretary to the Queenes most excellent Ma-
iestie, and one of her highnesse most Ho-
nourable priuie Counsell.



Hilest I abode (right Honorable)
in the Isle of Palma, in affaires of
merchandize for the worshipfull
Thomas Lock deceased, and his cō-
pany, time then permitted me, to
haue conference with auncient
gentlemen which had serued in
the Conquest of the Weast India, now called
new Spaine, vnder the princely Captaine *Hernando
Cortes*. By whom as present witnesses at many of
the actes herein contained, I was credible infor-
med, that this delectable and worthie Historie is a
most true and iust report of matter past in effect:
wherfore I did the more willingly turne ouer and
peruse the same, which is a Mirrour and an excel-
lent president, for all such as shall take in hand to
gouerne new Discoueries: for here they shall be-
hold, how Glory, Renowne, and perfit Felicitie, is

The Epistle.

not gotten but with great paines, trauaile, peril and
daunger of life: heere shall they see the wisdomē,
curtelie, valour and pollicie of worthie Captaines,
yea and the faithfull hearts which they ought to
beare vnto their Princes seruice: heere also is de-
scribed, how to vse and correct the stubborn and
mutinous persons, and in what order to exalt the
good, stout, and vertuous Souldiours, and chiefly
howeto preserve and keepe that beautifull Dame
Ladie Victorie, when she is obtained. And where it
was supposed, that the golden mettall had his be-
ginning and place in the East and West *India*, neare
vnto the hofe Zoan, (as most learned writers held
opinion) it is nowe approoued by the venterous
trauellour and worthie Captaine *Martin Frobisher*,
Esquier, yea and also through the great paines,
procurement, and first inuention of the worship-
full *Michael Locke* Merchant, that the same golden
mettall dooth also lie incorporate in the bowels
of the Northwest parties, enuironed with admi-
rable Towers, pillars and pinacles, of rockes, stones,
and lfe, possessed of a people both straunge, and
rare in shape, attire and liuing, yea such a Coun-
trei and people, as al *Europe* had forsaken and made
no account of, except our most gracious Queene
and her subiects, whom vndoubtedly God hath
appointed, not onely to be supream Princeesse o-
uer them, but also to be a meane that the name of
Christ may bee knowne vnto this heathenish and
sauage generation.

Not long since (right Honourable) I happened to

to trauell from the famous Citty of *Salamanca* in *Spain*
towards high *Castile*, and by fortune ouertooke an
auncient Gentleman, worshipfully accompanied,
vnto whom I was so bolde as to approach, besee-
ching his worship to aduertise me of his iourney:
who (after hee had behelde my white head and
beard) answered full gently, that his intent was to
trauell vnto the king of *Spaines* Court, and welco-
med me vnto his companie. In short space that we
had iourneied together, and commied of each o-
ther his Countrey, it pleased him to say as follo-
weth: My good friend, if you knewe my sute
vnto the Kings maiestie, you would iudge that I
were a mad man, and therefore to shorten our way,
I will declare my attempted sute vnto you. You
shall vnderstand, that I am a Gentleman of three
score and ten yeares of age, and sometimes I serued
in the ciuill warres of *Portugal*, where I was wound-
ed in diuerse parts of my bodie, and am now ther-
by lame in one of my legges and shoulder. I haue
neither wife nor childe, and at this present (God
be prayd) I haue in the Contraction house in
the Citty of *Seuill*, in golde and plate, the summe of
thirtie thousand Duckets: and I haue also in *Portugal*
in good landes and possessions, the yearely rent of
twelue thousande Duckets, which rentes and
readie money is sufficient to mainteine a poore
Gentleman. But at this notwithstanding, I do now
sue vnto the kings Maiestie, to haue a licence, and
authoritie to discover and conquer a certaine part
of *Solida*, which adioyneth with *Brazile*, and is part

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of the Empire of *Perru*, I pray you nowe declare what you think of my sute. By my troth sir (quoth I) I trust your worship will pardon a rash and sudden iudgement, which you now demaund at my hand: yea truly (quoth he) say what you list. Then (quoth I) my opinion is, that you are not well in your wit, for what would you haue? will not reason suffice you? or els would you now in your old daies be an Emperor, considering that your Sepulchre attendeth for you. Now truly I thanke you (quoth he) for of your iudgement are most men: but I say vnto you, considering that all flesh must finish, I seek for no quiet rest in this transitorie life: yea the wise and Christian doctors doe teach and admonish, that euery true Cristian is born, not for his owne priuate wealth and pleasure, but rather to helpe & succor others his poore brethren. Likewise do I consider the great number of gentlemen yonger brethren, and other valiant persons, who through want of liuing, doe fall into many disorders. Wherefore to accomplish my dutie towardes God and my prince, & to relieue such poore Gentlemen, doe I now attempt this iourney, with the aduenture of my bodie & goods, and for that purpose I haue in readines foure tall ships, well furnished in the port of *S. Lucar de Barrameda*, hoping assuredly, that before the life depart out of my bodie, to heare these valiant yong gentlemen (whom now I mean to haue in my company) say, oh happy day, when olde *Zarate* (for so is my name) brought vs from penurie, yea and from a number
of

The Epistle.

of perils that we were like to fall into. I hope also, that the royall estate of my Prince shall bee by my paines, and poore seruice enlarged: belecue you me, this is the onelie sumptuous tumb that I pretend to build for my poore carkas. But yet I know there are some, vnto whō I may compare the Bore that lieth wallowing in the Stie, who will not let to say, what need we anie other world, honour, or kingdoms? let vs be contented with that we haue: who may easily be answered, Sir glutton, your panch is full, and little care you for the glorie of God, honour of your Prince, neither the need and necessitie of your poore neighbours. With this conclusion the Gentleman ended his tale, the iudgement whereof, I leaue to noble Gentlemen his peeres to be determined.

And where our Captaine *Hernando Cortes*, of whose valiant acts this historie treateth, hath deserued immortal fame, euen so doubtlesse I hope, that within this happie Realme is now liuing a Gentleman, whose zeale of trauell and valiant beginning doth prognosticate great, maruellous, and happie successe: for perfection of honor and profit is not gotten in one day, nor in one or two voyages, as the true histories of the East and West conquests by Spaniardes and Portingals doe testifie. And calling to remembrance the great zeale and good will which your honor hath alwaies extended to good and profitable attempts, and especially in the proceedings of the new discouerie, your honor hath not only vsed liberality in your adventures,

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tures, but also taken great paines in Court to ad-
uance and further the voiage, a number I say of
Gentlemen, Mariners, and other Artificers, shall
haue great cause to pray for your honour. And
where I for my part haue tasted of your honours
goodnes sundrie waies, I am now most humbly to
beseech your honor to accept this poore gift, the
which I haue trāslated out of the Spanish tongue,
not decked with gallant colours, nor yet filed with
pleasant phrase of Rhetorike, for these things are
not for poore Merchant trauelers, but are referred
to learned Writers: yet I trust the Author will par-
don me, because I haue gone as neare the sense of
this historie, as my cunning would reach vnto. I
also craue, that it may please your honour, when
your great and waighty matters will permit, to be-
hold this worke, and that shalbe for me an encou-
ragement to take in hand the translation of the
East India, which is now enjoyed by the
king of Portingale. Thus I end, be-
seeching the Almighty to
preserve your hono-
rable estate,

Your honors most ready vs commandement

Thomas Nichols.

Sig 6 [1,2].

See the leaves incorrectly
bound in part one of this
volume.



The Conquest of the West India.

The byrth and linage of *Hernando Cortez.*



In the yeare of our Saviour, 1485. be-
ing kings of Castill and Aragon, the
Catholike princes Fernando and
Isabel his wife, was bozne Her-
nando Cortez, in a towne called Me-
dellin, situate in the prouince of An-
dulozia: his father was named Mar-
tin Cortez de Monroy, and his mother was called Kather-
rin Pizarro Altimirano. they were both of good birth, and
proceeded of foure principal houses, that is to say, the house
of Cortez, the house of Monroy, the house of Pizarro, & the
house of Altimirano, which foure houses are ancient, no-
ble and honourable: yet these parents but poze in gods,
but rich in vertue and good life, for which cause they were
much esteemed and beloued among their neighbors. His
mother was of inclination deuout, but somewhat hard:
his father was charitable and mercifull, who in his youth
applied himselfe to the warres, and was lieutenant to a
companye of bozemen. Hernando Cortez in his childhod
was very sickly, so that many times he was at the poynt
of death. And when he came to xliij. yeares of age, his pa-
rents sent him to the vniuersitie of Salamanca, where he
remained two yeres, learning Grammer, and then re-
turned to Medellin wearie of his studie, yea possible for

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want of money: yet his parents were much offended with him for leaving his studie, for their onely desire was to haue had him a student at law, which is a facultie both rich and worshipfull, considering their son to be of a good wit and abilitie: yet he caused much strife in his fathers house, for he was a very unhappie lad, high minded, and a louer of chiuallrie, for which cause he determined with himselfe to wander abroad to seeke aduentures. And at that instant hapned two iourneys fit for his purpose and inclination. The one of them was to Naples with Gonzalo Hernandez of the Citie of Cordoua, who was a worthy man, and named the great capitaine. And the other iourney was to the West India, with the Lord Nicholas de Ouando, a knight of the order of Larez, who was then appointed for gouernor of those parties. And musing with himselfe which way to take, determined to passe into India, chiefly because the gouernor was of his acquaintance, and such a one as would haue care of him. And likewise the great desire of gold made him to couet that voyage more then the iourney vnto Naples. Now in the meane while that the state was preparing for India, it chanced Hernando Cortez pretended to go vnto a certain house in the night season to talke with a woman, and climbing ouer a wall which was of weake foundation, both he and the wall fell together: so that with the noise of his fall, and rattling of his armour which he ware, came out a man newly married, and finding him fallen at his doore, would haue slaine him, suspecting somewhat of his newly married wife, but that a certaine olde woman (being his mother in law) with great perswasions staid him from that fact. Yet with the fall he fel into a grieuous agur, and continued sicke a long season, so that he could not proceede vpon his voyage with the gouernour Ouando. And when he had obtained, and fully recovered his health, hee minded

the west India.

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minded to passe into Italic, and so toke his way towarde
Valencia, wandering here and there almost a whole yere
with much necessitie and poertie, and then returned
home againe to Medellyn, with determination to pro-
ceede vpon his pretended voyage of India: Where vpon
his father and mother seeing their sonnes estate, desired
God to blesse him, and gaue him money in his purse for
his iourney.

The age of Cortez when he passed
into India.



Ernando Cortez was of the age of
ninetien yeres, in the yere of Christ,
1504. & then he went toward India,
and agreed for his passage and victual
with Alonso Quintezo, who went in
company of other foure ships laden
with marchandise, which naue de-
parted fro Lucas de Barramedo, with prosperous nauig-
ation, vntill they arriued at the Iland of Gomera, one of the
Cauary ilands, wher they did provide themselves of al things
necessarie for so long a voyage as they then had in hand.

Alonso Quintezo, being grieued of his voyage, and des-
srous to come to the Iland of Santo Domingo before his
fellows, hoping to sell his commoditie the better, depar-
ted from Gomera in the night season without knowledge
giuing vnto his company. But incontinent after he had
hoysed vp his sayles, arose vp so great a winde and tem-
pest, that his maine mast brake, whereby he was forced
to returne backe againe to the Ilande of Gomera. And
hee made earnest request to them of the other shippes
to stay for him, vntill hee had mended his shalpe,
who friendly and neighbourly graunted his desire,

The Conquest of

and departed altogether, sayling in sight the one of the other certaine dayes : yet the saide Quintero, seeing the weather stedfast, and harping vpon gaines, flew from his fellows againe. And where as Frances Ninio de Gueua his pilote was not expert in that navigation, they knewe not where they were : at length the Mariners gave sundrie indgements. The Pilote was in great perplexitie and sadnesse, their passengers lamented, and bewayled their vnfortunate successe : the Maister of the ship layde the fault to the Pilote, and the Pilote likewise charged the Maister, for it did appeare they were fallen out before. In this meane time their victuall waied scant, and their fresh water wanted, so that they prepared them selues to die. Some cursed their fortune, others asked merchaunt Gods hand, looking for death, and to be eaten of the Canies. And in this time of tribulation came a Dove flying to the ship, being on good Friday at Sonne set, and late him on the ship toppes : whereat they were all comforted, and toke it for a miracle, and god token, and some wept with ioy, some sayd that God had sent the Dove to comfort them : others saide that land was neare, and all gave heartie thanks vnto God, directing their course that way that the Dove flew : and when the Dove was out of sight, they forsooke againe, but yet remained with hope to see shortly land. And on Easter day they discovered the Island of Santo Domingo, which was first descried by Christopher Zorlo, who cried, land, land, a cheerfull voice to the saylers. The Pilote looked out, and knew that it was the point, or cape of Semana, and within foure daies after, they arrived in the port of Santo Domingo, which was long wished for, and there they found the other ships of their companie arrived many dayes before.

Comfort of
God,

The

the west India.

The time that Cortez abode in Santo Domingo.



Done after that the Gouvernour Ouando was in his regiment and office, Cortez arrived at Santo Domingo, and the Gouvernours Secretaris, called Medina, receyued and lodged him, and also informed him of the estate of the Island, and advised him what was needefull to doe, wishing that he would be a dweller there, and that he should haue a plot to build vpon, with certaine ground for husbandrie. But Cortez his thought was cleane contrarie: for he iudged, that as soone as he came thither, he should lade with gold, whereby he did little esteeme his friend Medina his counsell, saying, that he had rather goe to gather gold, then to trauell in husbandrie. Medina yet perswaded him, that he should take better aduilement, for to finde golde, was doubtfull, and verie troublesome. This talke ended, Cortez went to kisse the Governours hands, and to declare the cause of his coming, with other newes from Estremadura the Governours countrey. The gouernour friendly welcomed him, and also perswaded him to abide there, the which counsell hee accepted, and shortly after went to the houses, whereof was captaine Iaymes Velasques, in the parrish of Amigua laqua, and Guaca Iarima, and other Mayothips which were not as yet pacified with the late rebellion of Anacoana Iuido, who was a gentle woman of grent living. Ouando gaue vnto Cortez certaine Indians in the Countrey of Daiguao, and also the office of publike notarie in Azua, a towne which the Gouvernour had builded, and there dwelt Cortez five or six yeares, and began to play the good husband. Now in this meane season hee would haue gone to Veragua,

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which was reported to be marvellous riche, with the Captayne James de Nicuesa: but because of an empostume that he had vnder his right knee, he went not, and as it happened, he was thereinfortunate, for that thereby he escaped great perils and troubles, whiche happened to them that went on that voyage and iourney.

Things that happened to Cortez in
the Iland of Cuba.



The Lord James Coler being Admirall and chief Gouernour of the new India, set one James Velasques to conquer the Iland of Cuba, in the yeare. 1511. And gaue vnto him men, Armour, and other thinges necessary. And then Hernando Cortez went to that conquest as a cleerke to the Treasorer, called Michael de Passamontes, for to keepe the accompts of the Kings sutes and reuenues, being so intreated and required by the same James Velasques, because he was holden for a man both able and diligent. And it folowed, that in the repartition of the lands conquered, James Velasques gaue vnto Cortez the Indians of Manicorao, in coniunct company with his brother in lawe called Iuan Xuarez, wherevpon Cortez did inhabit in Saint James de Barucoa, which was the first place of habitation in that Ilande, whereas hee bredde and brought vp Kine, Sheepe, and Swines, and was the first that hadde there any heard or flocks, and with his Indians he gathered great quantitie of golde, so that in short time he was rich, and ioyned in company with one Andres de Duero a Merchant, and put in two thousande Castles for his stocke. He was also highly esteemed with James Velasques and put in authoritie to dispatch businesse, and to giue

the west India.

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glue order for edifices. In his time he caused a money house to be built, & also an Hospital. At that time one Iuan Xuarez naturall of the Citie of Granada, carried to the Ile of Cuba his mother and thre sisters, whiche came to the Island of Santo Domingo, with that vicequene the Lady Mary of Toledo, in Anno. 1509. hoping to marry them there with rich men, for they were verie poore. And the one of them named Cathelina was wont to say, That she shoulde be a greate Gentlewoman: it was eyther by dreames and fantasies, or else some Astronomer hadde made her beleue so, but her mother was repozted to be very cunning. The maydens were beautifull, for which cause, and also being there but selve Spannishe women, they were muche made of, and often feasted. But Cortez was woer to the saide Cathelina, and at the ende married with hir: Although at the first there was some strife about the matter, and Cortez put in prison, because he refused hir for his wife, but she demaunded him as hir husband by faith and troth of hand: wherein Iames Velasques did stande hir friende, by reason of an other sister of hers which he had, but of an euill name. It so fell out that one Baltazar Bermudez, Iuan Xuarez, & the two Anthony Velasques, with one Villegas accused Cortez, that he ought to marrie with Cathelina, yet those witnesses spake of euill will many things, as touching y^e affaires committed to his charge, alleadging y^e he vsed secret dealing with certaine persons. The which causes although they were not true, yet they carried great colour therof: For why many wēt secretly to Cortez his house, complayning of Iames Velasques. Some because they had not iust reparation of the conquered Indians, and other some not according to deserte. Contrariwise Iames Velasques gaue credit to his talebearers, because Cortez refused to marry wth Cathelina Xuarez & vsed vncourteous words vnto him in y^e presēce of many

The Conquest of

that stood by, and also commanded him to warde. And when Cortez sawe himselfe in the stocks, he feared some proces of false witnesse, as manie times both happen in those parties. At time convenient he brake the Locke of the stocks, and laide hand vpon the swayde and target of the keeper, and brake by a window, escaping thereby into the streete, and toke the Church for Sanctuary. But when Iaymes Velasques had notice therof, he was greatly offered with Christopher Lagos the Jailor, saying that for money he had losed him; wherefore he procured by all meanes to pluck him out of the Sanctuary. But Cortez hauing intelligence of his dealing, did resist and withstand his force. Yet notwithstanding, one day Cortez walking befoze the Church doze, and being carelesse of his businesse, was caught by the backe with a Sergeant called Iohn Esquier, and others, and then was put a boorde a Ship vnder hatches. Cortez was well beloued among his neighbours, who did well consider the euill will that the gouernour bare vnto him. But now Cortez seeing himselfe vnder hatches, dispaired of his libertie, and did verely thinke, that he should be sent prisoner to the Chancerie of Santo Domingo, or else to Spaine, who being in this extremitie, sought all meanes to get his foote out of the chaine, and at length he got it out, and the same night he chaunged his apparell with a lad that serued him, and by the Pumpe of the Shippe he got out, not heard of anie his keepers, climbing softly along the Shippe side, he entred the Skiffe, and went his way therewith, and because they should not pursue after him, he losed the Boat of another Ship that rood by them. The Currant of Macaguanigua, a Riuer of Barucoa, was so fierce, that he could not get in with his Skiffe, because he had no helpe to row, and was also very weary, fearing to be drowned if he should put himselfe to the land, where,

Cortez escapeth.

the west India.

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wherefoze he stripped himselfe naked, and tied a night-kercheffe about his head, with certaine writings appertaining to his office of Notarie and Clerkship to the Treasurer, and other things that were agaynst the Gouvernour James Velasques, and in this sort swamme to lande, and went home to his owne house, and spake with Iohn Xuarez his brother in law, and toke Sanctuarie againe with armour. When the Gouvernour James Velasques sent him woode, that all matter should be forgotten, and that they should remayne friends as in time past they had bene, and so goe with him to the Warres agaynst certaine Indians that had rebelled. Cortez made him no answer, but incontinent married with mistresse Catalina Xuarez, according to his promise, and to live in peace. James Valasques proceeded on his journey with a great companie agaynst the Rebels. When saide Cortez to his brother in lawe Iohn Xuarez, hying me (quoth he) my Launce, and my Crossbow to the Townes ende. And so in that evening hee went out of Sanctuarie, and taking his Crossbowe in hand, hee went with his brother in lawe to a certaine Farme, where James Valasques was alone, with his household servants, for his armie was lodged in a village therby, and came thither somewhat late, and at such tyme as the Gouvernour was perusing his Booke of charges, and knocked at his doore which stood open, saying: Here is Cortez that would speake with the Gouvernour, and so went in. When James Valasques saw him armed, and at such an houre, hee was marvellously afraine, desiring him to rest himselfe, and also to accept his Supper: So Sir (quoth he) my onely coming is, but to know the complaints you haue of mee, and to satiffie you therein, and also to bee your friend and seruito.

The gover-
nor was fore
afraide.

C

of

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of friendship. And after long talke, they lay both in one bedde, where Iames de Orrelano found them, who went to carrie newes to the Gouernour, how Cortez had fledde. After this sozt came Cortez againe to his former friendship with Iames Velasques, and proceeded with him to the Clarres, but afterward at his returne, he was like to haue bin drowned in the sea: soz as he came from the Canes of Bani, to visite certaine of his shepheardes and Indians that wozought in the Spines of Barucoa, where his dwelling was, his Canoa oz little bote ouerthrew, being night, and halfe a league from land, with tempest, where by he was put to his shifts, and forced to swim, and happened to espie light that certaine Shepheards had, which were at supper nere the sea side. By such like perils and dangers, run the excellent men their race, until that they arrive at the haven where their god lot is preferred.

The discouerie of new Spaine.



Frances Hernandes de Cordoua, did first discover Xucatan, going with thre ships soz Indians, oz else to barter. These Shippes were set forth by Christopher Morante, and Lope Ochoa de Saizedo, in Anno 1517. And although he brought home nothing at that time but stripes, yet he brought perfect relation, how the country was riche of gold & siluer, and the people of the country clothed. Then Iames Velasques gouernoz of the Iland of Cuba, sent the next yere following his kinsman, called Iohn de Grijalua with two hundred Spaniards in foure ships, thinking to obtaine much gold and siluer soz his merchandise at those places, which Frances Hernandes had informed him: So that

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that Iohn de Grijalua went to Xucatan, and there soughte with the Indians of Campoton, and was hurt. From thence he entred the river of Tualco, which Grijalua had so named, in the whiche place he bartered for things of small value. He had in exchange golde, cloth of cotten wolle, and other curious things wrought of feathers. He was also at Saint Iohn de Vilhua, and toke possession for the King, in the name of Iames Velasques, and there also exchanged his Haberdashe wares, for Golde, and Courlets of cotten, and feathers: and if he had considered his good fortune, hee would haue planted habitation in so rich a land, as his company did earnestly request him, and if he had so done, then had he bin as Cortez was. But such wealth was not for him which knew it not, although he excused himselfe, saying, he went not to inhabite, but to barter onely in traffike of his Marchandise, and to discover whether that land of Xucatan were an Islande, or no. And finding it a maine land, and populous, he left off for very feare. Likewise, some of his company were desirous to returne to Cuba, among whom, was one Pedro de Aluado, who was farre in loue with a woman of that countrey. So they determined to returne, with relation to the Governoure of such things as hadde happened till that day, and sayled homewardes along the coast to Panuco, and so came to Cuba, to the greate grieve of many of his company. For some of them wept with sorrowe, that hee would not abide in that rich countrey. He was five monethes vpon his voyage homeward from lande to lande, and eight moneths till his returne to the Citie. But when he came home, the Governoure hauing hearde of his proceedings, would not looke vpon him, whiche was his iust reward.

Men tangled
in foolish loue.

The Conquest of

The Inuentorie of the treasure that Grijahua
brought for his wares,



Ohn de Grijahua, bought of the Indians of Potōchan, Saint Iohn de Vihua and other places of that coast, such things as made his fellowes farre in loue with h^e countrey, & loth to depart frō thence. The workmanship of many of the things that they bought, was moze worth than the thing it selfe, as this Inuentorie particularly doth shew.

The Inuentorie.

- A Little Boll of gold hollow.
- A greater of golde, with hoznes and haire, with a string of beadstones about his necke, and a flydapp in his hand, and a little stone for his nauill.
- A pēce of golde, like a patent of a Chalice, garnished with stones.
- A Skull of gold, with two hoznes, and blacke haire.
- Two and twentie eare-rings of gold.
- Two and twentie pēces of another fashion.
- Four braceletts of golde very broad.
- A paire of beades of golde, the stones hollowe, with a Frogge of gold hanging at the same.
- Another paire with a Lyon of gold.
- A great paire of ear-rings of gold.
- Two little Eagles of gold hollow.
- A little Saltceller of gold.
- Two ear-rings of gold with Turkie stones.
- A collar to hang about a womans necke, of twelue pēces, with foure and twentie stones hanging thereat.
- A great collar of gold.
- Sixe little collers of gold thin,

Seuen

Tenen other collers of gold with stones.
 Foure ear-rings of golden lease.
 Twentie fishing hookes of gold.
 Twelue graines of gold, waying fiftie Duckets.
 A headlace of gold.
 Certaine thin planches of gold.
 A Postage pot of gold.
 An Idoll of gold hollow.
 Certaine thin branches of gold.
 Fine bead stones of gold.
 Two paire of gilt beades.
 One paire of wooden beads gilt.
 A little cuppe of golde, with eight purple stones, and
 twentie thre stones of another colour.
 Foure bolles of gold.
 A little sawcer of gold.
 A little boze of gold.
 Certaine small collers of gold of small value.
 A hollow apple of gold.
 Foztie hatchets of gold mixed with copper, valued in fflow
 thousand five hundred Duckets.
 A whole harness or furniture for an armed man of gold,
 thin benten.
 An other whole armour of wood with leanes of gold, gar-
 nished with little blacke stones.
 A certaine pce made like unto a feather, of an hide and
 gold ioyntly wrought.
 Foure pces of armour of wood made for the knes, and
 covered with golden lease.
 Two Targets couered with feathers of many and fine
 colours.
 Dinerse other targets of gold and feathers.
 A tuffe of feathers of sundrie colours, with a little bird in
 the middell, very lively.

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A wing of gold and feathers,
 Two flyclappers of feathers,
 Two litle chamberpottes of Allabaster, beset with ma-
 ny triume stones, and some fine, & among them there
 was one esteemed at two thousand Duckets.

Certaine beades of tinne,
 Fine paire of wooden beades rounde and couered with a
 leafe of gold very thinne.

A hundred and thirtie hollow head stones of gold.

Many beades of wood gilt.

A paire of Dissimoys of wood gilt.

Two gilt vissors.

A vissor of strange lecture of gold.

Foure vissors of wood gilt.

Foure dishes of wood couered with golden leafe.

A dogges head of gold beset with stones.

An other beasts head garnished with gold.

Five paire of rush shooes.

Ther red hides.

Seven razors of flint stone, soz to cut by men that were
 sacrificed.

Two painted dishes of wood with an Ewer.

A garment with halfe sleeves of feathers of exceeding fine
 colours.

A couerlet of feathers.

Many couerlets of cotton very fine.

Many other couerlets of cotton coarse.

Two kercheffes of good cotton.

Many perfumes of swete odour, much of that countrey
 fruite.

They also brought a gentlewoman that was giue them,
 and other prisoner Indians. And soz one of them was
 offered his weight in golde, but Grijalua woulde not
 take it.

Ther

thevvest India.

15

They also brought newes that there were Amazons women of warre, in certaine Ilandes, and manie gaue credit, being amazed at the things that they had brought bartered for things of a vile price: as here-vnder appeareth the Marchandise that they gaue for all the aforesaid Jewels.

The Inuentorie of the Spanish Marchandice.

Three course shirts.

Two paire of Hariners breeches of linnen.

Fine paire of womens shoes.

Five broad leatherne girdles wrought with coloured thread, with their purses.

Many purses of shepeskinne.

Sixe glasses a little gilt.

Foure bouches of glasse.

Two thousand beaddstones of glasse graine.

A hundred paire of beads of diuerse colours.

Twentie wooden conides.

Sixe paire of billers.

Fiftene knives great and small.

A thousand taylers needles.

Two thousand pinnes of sorts.

Eight paire of cozded shoes.

A paire of pinlers, and a hammer.

Seuen red night cappes.

Two coates of colours.

A frese coate with a cap of the same.

An oly graine velvet coate.

An olde velvet cap.

The

The Conquest of

The determination of Cortez to prepare a
Naue for discouerie.



Because Iohn de Grijalua was absent a longer season than was Fráncisco Hernandez de Cordoua, before his return or giuing aduise of his proceedings, the gouernour Valasques prepared a Caruel, & therein sent one Christopher de Olid, for to seeke Grijalua with succour if need were, & gave Olid great charge, y he should return with netes frō Grijalua with all speed. But this messenger taried but a smal while upon his voiage, and saw but little of Yucatan, & not finding Grijalua, he returned back again to Cuba, which returne hapned not wel for the gouernour, nor yet for Grijalua. For if he had proceeded forth on his way to see Iohn de Vilhua, hee had then met with whom he sought for, & likewise caused him to haue inhabited there: but he excused himself, alledging y he had lost his ankers, & was therfore forced of necessitie to returne.

And as soone as Olid was departed on that voyage, Pedro de Aluarado returned to Cuba, with full relation of the discouerie, & brought many things w him, wrought in gold, with strange coloured feathers, and cotten wool. The gouernour James Valasques reioiced much to behold those principles: And all the Spaniards of Cuba wondered thereat, & likewise to heare the whole relation of the iourney. Yet the gouernour feared the returne of his kinsmen, because some of his companie that came sicke and diseased from those parties, saide that Grijalua meained not to inhabite there, and that the people and land was great, and also how the same people were warlike: likewise the gouernour feared the wisdom and courage

courage of his kinsman. Whereuppon he determined to send thither certaine shippes, with souldiers and armour and other trisling things, thinking chiefly to enrich himself by barter, and also to inhabite by force. He requested one Baltazer Vermudez to take that voyage in hand, who accepted the offer, but he demaunded thre thousand duc-kets for his furniture and prouision. Their gouernour hearing this demaund, answered, that in suche sorte the charges would be moze then the profite: And so for that time lefte off that matter, because he was couetous, and loth to spend, thinking to prouide an army at other mens cost, as he had done before. When Grijalua went first on that voyage, for at that time one Fracisco de Montezo did furnish one shippe. And also certaine gentlemen called Alaunso Fernandez, Porto Carero, Alaunso de Auila, and James de Ordas, with many others, went with Grijalua at their proper costes and charges. It followed that the gouernour bzake the matter to Cortez, and required that the voyage should be set forth betwixt them, knowing that Cortez had two thousande Castlins of golde in the power of one Andres de Duero, a merchant, and also that Cortez was a man diligent, wise, and of stout courage. Cortez being of haughtie stomacke, accepted both the voyage and the charges, thinking the cost would not be much, &c. So that the voyage and agrément was concluded, whereupon they sent one Iohn de Sanzedo to the kings counsell and chauncery, resident in the Iland of Santo Domingo, (who were then religious persons) to haue and obtain of them licence, freely to goe and traffike into those parties of newe discouery, and also to seek for Iohn de Grijalua, for they imagined that without him small trafficke would be hadde, whiche was, to exchaunge trifles of Habertathe for golde and siluer.

The chiefe Rulers of gouernement at that tyme

The Conquest of

in the kings counsell there, were these following, Segnior Alounso de Santo Domingo, Segnior Luys de Figueroa, and Segnior Barnardo de Munlanedo, who graunted the licence, and appointed Hernando Cortez for capitaine Generall of the voyage, and setter forth in company of James Velasques. They also appointed a Treasurer, and Surueyour, to procure for the kinges portion or parte, which was according to custome one fiftie part. In this meane season Cortez prepared himselfe for the Journey, and communed with his especiall friends to see who would beare him company: And hee founde thre hundred men that agreed to his request. Hee then bought a Caruell and Wergantine, and another Caruell that Pedro de Aluarado brought home. An other Wergantine hee had of James Velasques: he provided for them armour, artillery, and other munition: he brought also wyne, Oyle, Beanes, Pease, and other vittalles necessary: hee tooke vp also vpon his credite, of one Iames Sauzedo mache Haberdashe, to the value of seven hundred Castlyns in golde. The Gouernour Velasques deliuered vnto him a thousande Castlyns whiche hee possessed of the goods of one Pamfilo de Naruaiz in his absence, alleaging that he had no other money of his owne proper. And being in this manner agreed, the Articles and Couenants were drawne and set downe in writing, befoze a notary, called Alounso de Oscales, the thre and twentie day of October, 1518.

The coming home
Griualua.

In this meane time arriued at Cuba, Iohn de Grijalua, vpon whose arriual, the Gouernour chaunged his purpose and pretence, for hee refused to disburse any more money, nor yet would consent that Cortez should furnish his Spanie. For the onely cause was, that he went to dispatch backe againe his kinsman and his army. But to behold the stout courage of Cortez, his charges, and liberalitie

beralitie in expences, it was straunge, and to see how he was deceiued. And also to consider, the flatterie and deceite of his aduersarie, yea what complaints were made to the Lord Admiral, saying that Cortez was subtil, high minded, and a louer of honoz, which were tokes that he wold rebel, being in place conuenient, and that he woulde reuenge old griefes. Also it griued Vermudez that he had not excepted the voyage, vnto whō it was once offered, seeing the great treasure that Grijalua had brought, and what a rich land the countrey newly discovered was. Also he pretended that the gouernoꝝ would be chieftain of y^e fleet, although his kinsman were not fit for y^e rōme. The gouernoꝝ also thought that he being slack, Cortez would also be slack. But yet he seeing Cortez earnestly proceed, he sent one Amador de Larez a principal man, to intreat him to leaue off y^e voyage (considering y^e Grijalua was returned) and y^e he would pay him al the costs & charges that he had layd out. Cortez vnderstanding the gouernoꝝs mind, made answer vnto Larez, that he woulde not leaue of the Iozney for very shame, noꝝ yet breake the agrēment made. And also if Velasques would send a Raue for his owne accōit, he woulde be contente, for (quoth he) I haue already my licence and dispatch of the fathers & gouernours. And then he conferred with his friends, to knowe their mindes if that they would fauour and beare him company, at whose handes he found both ready healpe and friendshippe. He sought then for money, and toke vp vpon his credit foure *ms*. Castlins in gold, of his friend Andreas de Duero, & of Pedro de Xerez & others. With y^e which money he bought two ships, 6. hozes, and much apparrel, and begun to furnish a house, & keep a good table for comers & goers: he wēt also armed like a captaine, and many waiting & attending vpon him, wherat diuerse murmured, saying that he was a Lord without rente. In this meane while came

The gouernour
an old
enemy.

Courage of
Cortez.

The Conquest of

Grijalua to the Cittie of Sainte Iames de Cuba : but his kinsman the Governour would not looke vpon him because he had left and forsaken so riche a lande. Also it groned him inwardly that Cortez proceeded thitherward so strong and mightie, and coulde by no meanes disturbe or let him, and to see the great traine that wayted vpon him, with many of them that had bene the other boyage with Grijalua: yea if that hee should disturbe him, bloodhead would follow in the Cittie. So that he was forced to dissemble his sorrow. Yet (as many affirme) he commaunded that hee should haue no victualls solde vnto him. Now Cortez departed from thence, proclaiming himselfe for Generall, and that the Governour Velasques had nothing to doe with his Paue, requesting his souldiers to embarque themselues with such victualls as they had. He also bargained with one Fernando Alfonso, for certaine Hogges and Sheepe that were prepared for the shambles, and gaue vnto him a chayne of golde and brouches for payment, and also money, to paye the penaltie that the Butcher fell into for not prouiding the Cittie. And so he departed from Saint Iames de Baracoa, the eighteenth of Nouember, with about thre hundred Spaniards in sixe shippes.

The Nauie and men that Cortez carried with him to the Conquest.



Cortez departed from Saint Iames de Baracoa, with small prouision of victualls for such a number of men, and also for the Paungation whiche as yet was vncertaine. And being out of that parte, hee sente Pedro Xarez

the west India.

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Xuarez Gallinato, with a Caruel to Iaymaica for vittails, commaunding him, that those thinges which hee should there buy, to goe there with to Cape de Corientes, or to S. Anthonies pointe, whiche is the farthest parte of that Iland Westward. And he himselfe went with his companie to Macaca, and bought there great quantitie of bread, and some Hogges, of one Taymaio. Then he proceeded to the Trinitie Ilande, and there bought an other Shippe of one Alonso Guillen. And of particular persons he bought three Horses, and five hundred busshels of Cozne. And being there at road, he had aduice, that Iohn Nonez Sedenio passed that way with a Ship laden with vittails, for to make sale thereof at the Pines. Whereupon he sent James de Ordas, with a Caruell well armed, for to take him, and to bring him vnto S. Anthonies point. Ordas went and toke him at the Chanel de Iardines, and brought him to the place appointed. Sedenio brought the register of his marchandice, which was great store of bread, Bacon, and Venues. Cortez gave him chaines of gold, and other pieces for payment, and a bill for the rest. In consideration whereof, Sedenio went with him to the Conquest. In the Trinitie Iland Cortez gathered together two hundred men more, who had bin in Grijalua his companie, and were dwellers in that Iland, and in Matancas, Carenias, and other Villages, and sending his ships forward, he went with his men by land to Hauana, which was then inhabited on the South side in the mouth of the riuer called Onicaxinall, but there they would sell him no provision, for feare of the Gouernor Velasques. But yet one Christopher Gallada, rent gatherer to the Bishop, and receyuer for the Popes Bulles, solde to him great store of Bacon and bread of that Countrey called Maiz, and other provision, whereby his fleet was reasonably provided, &c. And then he began to distribute his men and

The Conquest of

distalles aboord ech vessell in good order. Then came Alvarado with his caruell, with his other friends Christopher de Olid, Alonso de Auila, Frâncisco de Monteio, & many others of Grijalua his companie, who had bin to talke with the Gouvernour Velasques. And among them came one Garnica, so called, with letters for Cortez from Velasques, wherein he wrote, desiring him to abide there, for that he meant to come himselfe, or els to send unto him, to treat of matters profitable for them both.

A snare layd
for Cortez.

Also the said gouvernour sent other secret letters to James de Ordas, and others, requiring them to apprehend & take prisoner Cortez. Now Ordas did invite Cortez to a banquet aboord his Caruell, thinking by that meanes to catch Cortez in a snare, and so to carry him prisoner to the citie of Saint Iamas de Barocoa. But Cortez understood y^e matter, and fained himselfe to be very sicke, and also fearing some bypoyze, he went aboord his ship Admirall, and shot off a peece of Ordnance, giving warning to his manie to be in a readinesse to make saile, and to follow him to saint Anthonies point, which was don with expedition, & there in the towne of Guan Guaniga, he mustred his men, and found five hundred and fiftie Spaniards, whereof fiftie were mariners. He divided them into eleven companies, and appointed these persons following for captaines, that is to say, Alonso de Auila, Alonso Fernandez Porto Carrero, James de Ordas, Francisco de Monteio, Francisco de Morla, Francisco de Salzedo, Iohn de Escalante, Iohn Velasques de Leon, Christopher de Olid, and one Escovar, and he himselfe as Generall took one companie. He made these manie Captaines, because his whole flote was eleven saile, and that each of them should generallie be Captaine, both of shippe and men. He also appointed for chiefe Pilote Anthonio de Alamines, who had taken charge before with Francisco de Hernandez

nandez de Cordoua, and Grijalua, &c. He caried also 200.
 Indians, bozne in the Ile of Cuba, to serue and to cary bag-
 gage, & also certain Negros, with some Indian womē, and
 fiftene hozes and spares, with great pꝛouision of bacon,
 cozne, bisket, hennēs, wine, oyle, pease, and other fruite,
 with great stoze of Haberdash, as bels, necklaces, beades
 of glasse, collers, points, pinnes, purses, needels, girdels,
 thred, kniues, fillers, pinners, hammers, hatchets, shirts,
 Coyfes, headkirchiefs, handkirchiefs, breeches, coates,
 clokes, caps, Parriners breeches. All the which marchā-
 dise he diuided among his nauie. The ship admirall was
 of the burthen of a hundred Tunnes. Other thre ships
 of the burthen of eighty Tunnes the pece. All the residue
 were small without ouerloppe, and bergantines. The
 deuise of this ensigne of auncient, was flames of fire in
 white and blewē, with a red crosse in the middell, and
 bozded round with letters; in the Latine and Spanissh
 tonges, which signified this in effect: friends, let vs follow
 the Crosse, and with liuely faith with this standard weē
 shall obtaine victorie. The pꝛemises (as ye haue heard)
 was the furniture that Cortes pꝛouided for his iourney,
 and with so small a thing he conquered so great and
 mighty an Empire, and strange countreys vnknowne at
 that time. There was neuer captaine that did with like
 army overcome so infinit a people, & bzing both them and
 their country vnder subiection. He caried no money to pay
 his souldiers, but was rather much indebted to others at
 his departure. And to say the truth, there needed any mo-
 ny to make pay to those souldiours that went to the Con-
 quest, for if they should haue serued for wages, they wold
 haue gone to other places where hand. But in India, every
 one pꝛefereth to stand of a noble man, or else great riches.
 Now all the fleet being in readinesse (as ye haue heard,)
 Cortez began an expedition to his company as foloweth.

The

The Conquest of

The Oration that Cortez made to
his Souldiers.



¶ Louing fellowes, and dære friendes, it is certaine that euerie valiant man of stoute courage, doth procure by deedes to make him selfe equall with the excellent men of his time, yea, and with those that were before his time. So it is, that I doe now take in hand such an enterpryse, as God willing shall be hereafter of great fame, for mine heart doth prognosticate vnto me, that we shall win great and rich countries, and manie people, as yet neuer sene to any of our Nation, yea, and (I beleue) greater Kingdomes then those of our Kings. And I assure you, that the desire of glorie doth further extend, then treasure, the which in sozt, mozt tall life doth obtaine. I haue now prepared Shippes, armour, hoxles, and other furniture for the warres, with vittaille sufficient, and all things that are vsed as necessarie in Conquests. I haue bene at great costs and charges, where in I haue not onely employed mine owne goodes, but also the goodes of my friends, yet me thinketh that the employment thereof doth encrease my treasure and honour. We ought (louing fellowes) to leaue off small things, when great matters doe offer themselves. And euen as my trust is in God, euen so greater profite shall come to our kings, & a nation of this our enterpryse, then hath heretofore of any other. I doe not speake how acceptable it will be to God our Saniour, for whose loue I do chiefly and willingly hazard my goods and trauell. I will not now treat of the perils and danger of life that I haue passed since I began this voyage. This I say, that god men doe rather expect renoume, then treasure. We doe now attempt and begin warre that is both god and iust,

The Conquest of

their patrons, warning them alwaies to follow the Admirall (wherein he went) because he carried a light for the night season to guide them the way, which was almost East and West from S. Anthonies point, being the nearest part of Cuba to Cape de Cotoche, which is the first land point of Yucatan, whither they were bound, so that being there, they might run along the coast, betwene the North point and the West. The first night of Hernando Cortez, began to passe over the gulf betweene Cuba and Yucatan, being little above ix. leagues, the winde rose vp at North-east with much force, so that all the Flöte were separated without sight of one of the other: yet by the account that their Pilots kept, they arrived all saving one at the Island of Acufamil, although not at one time, and those that last arrived, were the Admirall, and Captaine Morla his Ship, who had lost his Kuther, but by shooting off a peece, Cortez understood his necessitie, and came heryng to him, and imagined his sailes to succour him, being in y night season. Yet when the day appeared, it pleased God that the rage of the tempest ceased, & being clere day, they found agayne their Kuther, and trimmed the Ship, and made sayle, and sayled that day and the next following, without sight of land, or any of the Flöte. But the third day they arrived at a cape or point of land, called *Womens cape*, Cortez commanded Morla to follow him, directing his course to save the residue of his Flöte, and arrived in this sort at the Island of Acufamil, and there found all his people except one, whereof they heard no names in many dayes after. The people of that Island beholding such a strange sight, were in great feare and admiration, so that they harbited their stufke and wente by into the Mountaines. Cortez caused a certaine number of his men to goe a land to a Towne which was nere the place where they were arrived, and they found the town wrought with Nations worke, and good building, but they founde no creature therein,

The feare of
the Indians of
Acufamil.

the west India.

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therein, yet in some houses they found cloth made of cotton wool, and certain Jewels of gold. Also they entred into a high towre made of stone worke, neare the sea side, and there they founde nothing but Idolls of earth and stone. With this newes they returned to Cortez, and enformed him what they had seene, and also many faire sowen fields of Maize, and great store of hives of Bees, and many trees of fruites, and also presented vnto him the gold and other things that they had found. Cortez reioyced with y^e newes, but yet marvelled that the people were fled; considering that when Grijalua was there, they had not so done, where by he iudged, that his name being greater, caused them to feare and flee, and likewise he feared least a snare were prepared for him. When he commanded to ship his hopes for thre causes: the one to discover the Countrey, and the other to fight if need were: and also to growe them, having there abundance. Also he shipped his men of war, and sent them to discover the land. And in the thickest of the Mountaines, they found foure women, and thre children, whom they brought to Cortez, so that not understanding their language, by signes and tokens they imagined that one of them was the mother to y^e children, & mistress to the other women. The poore creatures bewayled their captiuitie. Cortez made much of them, and apparelled the mistress as wel as he might with Spanish attire: and to his servants he gave looking glasses and silks: and to the little children others toys to play withall, vtiling no dishonour towards them. And then he determined to send one of the wenches to call her maister, & to informe him how well they were intreated. In this meane season came certaine spies lurking a far off, by the commandement of their Lord, who was called Calachuni, to bring newes of his wife, and what else passed. Cortez receiued them gently, & gave vnto them certaine trifles, & sent others to their Lord, & returned them wth embassage on his behalfe & his

How the people were found.

The Conquest of

him, so desire him to come vnto him, and to se those folke from whome he had fledde, promising, that neyther his person, nor none of his countrey should receyue any molestation of him, nor of any of his company. Calachuni vnderstanding this friendshippe, and also with the loue he bare to his wife and childre, came the next day following with all the Townslemen, in whose houses & Spanyards were lodged, who woulde not permitte that their guesse should giue place. And the Lorde commaunded, that they should be wel entertained, and fro that day forward provided them of bread, fish, honney, & fruite. Calachuni spake and saluted Cortez with greate humilitie and ceremonie, and euen so was he louingly receyued, & wel entertained. Cortez did then declare vnto him by the commoditie that would ensue vnto him by that nation. And also presented vnto him his company many toys, which were vnto the of small value, but much esteemed among them, yea more then golde. And moreover Cortez commaunded, that all the golde and other things that his men had taken in the Towne, shoulde be brought before him, and placed it so that every Indian knowe his owne, and was restored vnto them, whereat they were not a little ioyfull, wondering at the liberalitie of the strangers, and departed both merrie and riche with their strange gifts, and went throughout al the Land, shewing to their fellowes their presents, commaunding them in the name of Calachuni their Lord, to returne every man to his house, with their wives and children, commending highly the hart and gentle nature of the strangers. With this reward and commendement, every man returned to his house and Towne from whence he had fledde. And after this, for their feare was past, and they promised the Conqueror abundantly of honney, bread, ware, fish, and fruite, all the time that they abode in that Land.

A faine worthy
of praise

The

the west India.

29

The Indians of Acufamil gaue newes to Cortez
of certaine bearded men.



When Cortez seeing these Indians quiet
and well pleased, and also very service-
able, he did determine to take away
their goods, & to giue them a remem-
brance of Iesus Christ, bozne of the
virgin Mary, by one Melchior a fisher
man, & very rusticall; who had bin ther
before with Francisco Hernandez de
Cordoua, who declared vnto the, that Cortez his lord and
captaine would enioyne them of a better God, and better
lawes, the those which they maintained. The Indians an-
swered, that they were contented therewith, and went
with them vnto their temples, and there brake downe
their gods, and celebrated diuine service, teaching them
to adore and worship Christ crucified, so that they were
very attentive to the doctrine, and ceased sacrifice of men
which they were wont to doe. These Indians did wonder
much at the ships and harts, yea, and marvelled as much
at our colour and beards, so that many times they would
come and see them, and signified vnto them by signes
and tokens towarde Yucatan, that there were five or six
bearded men. When Cortez considering how profitable it
would be to haue an interpreter, to vnderstand and to be
vnderstood, he besought Calachyni that he would appoint
a messenger to carrie a letter to the bearded men, who
were in the power of a great Lord and Tyrant, and Ca-
lachyni found none that would take that iourney in hand,
feareing that they should be slaine and eaten, Cortez seeing
this, and reateh with faire words; that of the Indians that
serued him to accept the iourney, and gaue them rewards
for their labour: yet the Indians excused them, saying that

Newes of
bearded men.

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they should be slayne, notwithstanding with faire promises and rewardes, they accepted the voyage, so that Cortez wrote with them this letter following.

Worshipful sirs, I departed from Cuba with eleven men saile in my flote & furnished with five hundred and fiftie Spaniards, & I am here at Acapulco from whence I write you this letter. The people of this land haue certified me, that there is in that countrey five or six hundred men, and in all points like vnto vs: they cannot here enforce me of anye other signes or tokens, but hereby I do coniecture, and certainly beleue, that ye be Spaniards. Both I and these gentlemen of my company do come to discover and inhabite this land. We hartly pray you, that within five dayes after the receit hereof, ye come vnto vs, without any excuse or delay, and if ye do so, al the of this nauie wil gratifie your gentleness and good seruise, that ye shall do vnto vs. I do send you a Mergantine wherein you may come, and two shippes for your safe conduct.

Hernando Cortes.

This letter being written, there was found an inconvenience, which was, they knew not how to carrie the letter so secretly, & it might not be seene, and they taken for spies, whereof the saide Indians stood in greate feare. The Cortez bethoght him, & the letter would passe incaped in the haire of the head of one of the, for ordinarily the Indians wear long haire, & on their solemn feasts & in wars they vse their haire platted and bound about their forheads. And he appointed captain of the Mergantine wherein the messengers went, John de Escalante, & James de Ouidas for captain of the other two ships, with fiftie men if any need should happen. So shortly after the ships arrived at the place appointed. Escalante set a land his messengers, and abode there eight dayes they returne, although he promised them to abide there but five dayes. And the siring that the y

they came not, he surmised that they were eitheraine or taken captiues: and so returned backe againe to Acusamil without his messengers, whereof al the army were sorrowful, & chiefly Cortez, thinking that the Indians had inueng informed him. Now in this mean season they trimmed their shippes of the hurt receiued by the late tempest, and at the returne of the two ships and the galleone they hoysed by sailes and departed.

A miraculous chance how Geronimo de

Aguilao came to Cortez.



Alachuni and all his subjects were full of heaviness (as it seemed) with the departure of the Christians, because they were well used at their hands. From Acusamil the fleet sailed to get the coast of Yucatan to the cape called Womens point, with prosperous weather, and there Cortez came to an anchor, desirous to see the disposition of the land, and the manner of the people: but it liked him not, so that the next day following being the next day, he departed, meaning to double the same Cape, and so to passe to Cotoche, and to brieue it. But before they had doubled the point, Peter de Aluarez shotte off a peece, in token that he was in great perill. Whereupon the other shippes drew neare to knowe what had happened: And when Cortez understood that Aluarezs shippe was in to great a leake that with two pumpe they might not emptie the water, he found no other remedy but to returne backe againe to Acusamil: that his fleet. The Indians of the land came incontinent to the water side very ioyfull, and to knowe whether they had left any thing behind them. The Christians informed the of their mishap, and came a shoare, & in short time found the leake and amended it. The saterday following they took shipping againe, all the army except

Hernando

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Hernando Cortez, and title of his conquest, then the wind arose contrary, and so much, that they could not depart that day: and the furie of the wind endured all that night, but in the morning it waied calme, so that they might procede on their voyage. But for as much as that was the Sabbath day, they determined to heare masse: first, and after dinner to make saile. When their service was ended, and Cortez sitting at his meate, there was newes brought him that a little vessell called a Canoa, came vnder saile toward the shippes, which seemed to come from Yucatan: with that newes Cortez arose from his meate, to behold whether the Canoa went, and perceiving that she left the way toward the shippes, he sent Andrew de Tapia with certaine others, as secret & close as might be devised, to lye in ambush for their coming ashore. The Canoa arrived in a calme place, out of the which came foure men all naked, except their pudic members, and the haire of their beates platted and bound about their foreheades like unto women, with bowes and arrowes in their hands: three of them which were Indians, were afraid when they saw the Spaniards with their bearded swordes, and would haue fled againe to their Canoa, but the Christian feared not, and desired his fellows in the Indian tongue to abide with him. And then he beganne to speake in the Spanish tongue in this wise: Spaniards are ye Christians, yea (quoth they) and of the Spanish nation. When he reioyced so much, that the teares fell from his eyes, and demanded of them what day it was, although he had a Dialer whereby he daily practised.

He then besought them earnestly to assist him with their prayers and thanksgiving vnto God for his saluery, and kneeling deuoutly downe vpon his knees, holding vp his hands, his eyes toward heauen, and his face washed with

with teares, made his humble prayer vnto God, giuing most hartie thanks, that it hadde pleased him to deliuer him out of the power of Infidels and infernall creatures, and to place him among Christians and men of his owne nation. Andrew de Tapia holpe him vpper, and took him in his armes, & so did al the others embrace and louingly salute him. Then he commaunded the other thre Indians to follow him, and went talking with his friends, where Cortez abode, who receiued him ioyfully, and gaue vnto him such apparrel as he needed, and with greate pleasure hauing him in his companie, he demaunded the estate of his misfortune, and what was his name, who answered befoze them all, saying, Sir my name is Geromino de Aguilar, I was bozne in the Citie of Esija in the Andolozia, and by misfortune I was lost after this sorte. In the warres of Darien and in the time of the contentions and passions of Iames de Nicuesa, and Vasco Nonez Balboa, I came with Captaine Valdinia in a little Carnell, toward Santo Domingo, to giue aduice to the Admirall and gonerour, of the troubles which had happened, and my coming was for men and victuals: and likewise we brought twentye thousand Duckettes of the kinges in Anno. 1511. And when we appoynted at Iamayca, our Carnell was lost on the Gallies which were called the Cipars, and with greate pain we entred (about twenty persons) into the boate, without sayle, water or bread, and weake prouision of oares: we thus wander thirtene or fourtene dayes, and then the currant, which is there very great & runneth alway weastward, cast vs a shoare in a prouince called Maija, & travelling on our way, seauen of our fellowes died with hunger and famin. And captain Valdinia & other 4. were sacrificed to the ydols by a cruel and curied Cacike, that is to say, a Lord in whose power we fell, &c.

The coming
of Aguilar
to Cortez.

f.

And

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And after the sacrifice, they were eaten among the Indians for a solempne banquet: and I, & other six were put into a Cage or coupe, to be satined for an other sacrifice. And for to escape such abhominable death, we brake the prison and fled through certaine mountaines: so that it pleased God that we met with another Cazike, who was enemy to him that first took us, his name was Quinqu, a man of more reason and better condition, he was lord of Xamansana: he accepted us for his captiues, but shortly after he died, and then I aboad with Taxmar his heire. Then decreased other five of our fellows, so that there remained but onely I, & one Gonsalo Guerrer, a mariner, who now abideth with Nachancan the lord of Chetmal, and he married with a rich gentlewoman of that countrey, by whom he hath children, and is made a captaine, and well esteemed with the Cazike for the victories that he hath had in the wars against the other lords. I sent vnto him your woorthships letter, desiring him that he would come with me hauing so fit a passage, but he refused my request, I beleue for very shame, because he had his nose full boared of holes, and his ears lagged, his face and hands painted according to the vse of the country, or else he abode there for the loue he bare to his wife and children. All those which stood by and heard his hyssory, were amazed, to heare Geronimo de Aguilar report how those Indians did sacrifice and eate mans fleshe. They also lamented the miserie and death of his fellows, & highly prayed God, to set him free from his bondage, and from such cruell and barbarous people, and to haue likewise so good an enterpreter with them, for vndoubtedly it seemed a miracle, that Aluados ship fel into a leak, for with that extremitie they returned back againe to that Island, whereas with contrary winde they were constrained to abide the comming of Aguilar. And certainly he was the meane and spech of all their procees.

the west India.

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proceedings. And therfore haue I bin so pporious in the rehearfall of this matter, as a notable point of this historie. Also I wil not let to tel how the mother of Geronimo de Aguilar, became mad, &c.

When she heard that her son was captiue amōg people that vsed to eat mans flesh, & ever after when she saw any flesh spitted or roasted, she would make an open outcrie, saying, oh I miserable woman, behold this is the flesh of my dearely beloned son, who was all my comfort.

The Iland of Acusamil.



The Indians naturall of that countrey doe call their Iland Acusamil, and corruptly Cofumil. Iohn de Grijalua was the first Spaniard that appoynted ther, and named it the holy Rode, because he fell in sight thereof on holie Rode day. It containeth ten leagues in length, and thre leagues in breadth,

although some say moze, some lesse: it standeth xx. degrees on this side the equatoz, & five leagues from the womens cape: it hath thre vilages, in the which lieth nere 3000. men. The houses are of stone and bzick, and couered with straw & bowes, and some w tile. Their temples and towers are made of lume and stone very well built: they haue no other fresh water but out of wels & rain water. Calachuni is their chiefe lord: they are brown people, and go naked: and if any weare cloth, it is made of cotton wool only to couer their priuy members: they vse long hatre, platted and bound about their foreheads: they are great fishermen, so that fish is their chiefe food and sustenance, they haue also Maiz which is soz bread: also good fruits and hony, but somewhat soure: and plots soz bees, which containe 1000 hives. They knew not to what vse war seruies, but when they saw our me make canoels therof, they woozed therat.

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Their dogges haue fore faces and barke not, these they
 gelde and fatten to eate. This Iland is full of high moun-
 taines, and at þe fete of them, good pastures, many Deares,
 and wilde Boares, Connyes and Hares, but they are not
 great. The Spaniardes with their handguntts and crosse-
 bowes prouide them of that victual, fresh, salt, and tized.
 The people of this Iland are Idolaters, they doe sacrifice
 children, but not manye. And manye times in stead of
 children they sacrifice dogges. They are poyse people, but
 very charitable and louing in their false religion and
 beliefe.

The religion of the people of Acufamil.



A strange
Idol,

The temple is like vnto a square Towre
 broad at the fote, and steps round about it,
 and from þe middest vtward very straight:
 the top is hollow and couered with straw:
 it hath foure windowes with frontales
 and galleries. In the hollow place is their
 chappel, whereas their Idols do stand. The temple that
 stode by the sea side was such a one, in the which was a
 maruellous strange Idol, and differed muche from all
 the rest, although they haue manye and of diuerse fashi-
 ons. The bodie of this Idol, was greate and hollow, and
 was fastened in that wall with lime: hee was of earth.
 And behinde this Idols backe was the Westerie, where
 was kept ornaments & other things of service for the tem-
 ple. The priests had a little secret doze hard adioyning to
 the Idol, by which doze they crept into þe hollow Idol, and
 answered the people þe came with prayers & petitions. And
 with this deceit þe simple soules beleued al þe idol spake,
 and honoꝝed þe god moze the al þe rest, wth many perfumes &
 sweete

swete smelles, and offered bread and fruite, with sacrifice of Quails blood, and other birds, and dogges, and sometimes mans blood. And through the same of this Idoll and Oracle, many Pilgrimes came to Acusamil from many places. At the soke of this Temple was a plotte like a Churchyard, well walled and garnished with proper pinacles, in the middest whereof stode a Crosse of ten fote long, the which they adored for God of the rayne, for at all times when they wanted rayne, they would goe thither on Procession devoutely, and offered to the Crosse Quails sacrificed, for to appease the wrath that the God seemed to have against them: and none was so acceptable a sacrifice, as the blood of that little birde. They bled to burne certaine swete gumme, to perfume that god withall, and to besprinkle it with water, and this done, they beleued assuredly to have raine. Such is the Religion of those Indians of Acusamil. They could neuer knowe the original how that god of Crosse came amongst them, for in all those parties of India, there is no memoire of any Preaching of the Gospell that had bene at any time, as shall be shewed in another place.

The God
of raine.

The Battell and winning of
Potonchan.



Ortez proceeded with his Flote very ioyfull, because he had found one of his ships which he thought had bene lost, and apoyted at the riuer de Grijalua, which in the Indian tongue is called Tausaco, anchored at the riuers mouth, fearing to enter in with the bigger vessels over the barre: and incontinent came many Indians to gaze at them & their ships, who were armed with feathers,

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thers, and such like armes as they be, sening a farte off
 from fellows. They wondred not much to see our shippes
 and men, because they had sene befoze John de Grijalua
 in the same Riuer. The behaviour of that people, and sci-
 nation of the Countrey, liked Cortez very well, so that
 leauing sufficient garde in his shippes, he manned his
 Bergantines and Boates, and carried with him certaine
 pieces of Ordnance, and with force of Oares he entered
 the Riuer against the streame, which was very great, and
 hauing rowen little more then halfe a league, they espied
 a greate Towne walled with Timber, and the houses
 made of mudwall, conered with strawe. The Towne
 wall was verie strong, with loope holes to offende with
 all. And befoze oure menne came heare the Towne, they
 mette with manye little Boates, whiche the Indians call
 Tahucop, full of armed menne, thewyng themselves des-
 sirous of battaile. Cortez proceeded forwarde, and
 made vnto them signes of peace, declaring vnto them by
 his enterpreter, that his coming thether was not to
 molest or disquiet them, but onely to take freshe water,
 and to buy victuals, as menne that tranelled by Sea;
 and stode in nede thereof, promising good paymente
 for anye thing that they shoulde take. The Indians hea-
 rying their request, promised to shewe their message to
 the Towneshemen, and woulde also retorne with theyr
 answer and vittayles, and so departed. In short space
 they returned againe, and brought bread and fruite, and
 eyght Turkie Cockes, and presented it franchely vnto
 them. Cortez gaue them thanks, but quoth he the pro-
 mission that ye haue brought, is very little, for I neede that
 I and so many persons which I haue within yowre citie
 vessels locked and shutte vp, therefore I pray you to bring
 me more vittayles, or else to permitte and suffer me
 and my folkes to come vnto youre Towne to seeke a
 remedie.

remedie.

The Indians demanded one nyghtes space to doe the one and the other, and departed towarde the towne. Cortez also went to a little Ilande that standeth in the riuer, to abide their aunswere, so that eache pretended to deceiue the other, for the Indians demanded that time, to the intent to carrye that night away their goddes, and to put in safetie their wiues and childzen in the Spoun-
taynes, and likewise to gather their men of warre to be-
sende their Towne. Cortez also commaunded his Har-
gabushiers and Crossebotomen to goe a lande vpon the
Ilands, and caused the Riuer vpwordes to be soughte
for way, to waide ouer, so that these things were done
that nyghte without anye knowledge to the contrarie
side. And all those whiche abode aborde the Shippes,
came vnto Cortez, and those who wente to seeke the pas-
sage, founde within lesse then halfe a league vpwordes,
a place that was of depth to the girdle of a manne. And
likewise, founde suche couerte of wooddes, that they
myghte come nere vnto the Towne, and not to be
sene.

Diligence of a
good Cap-
taine.

Thys newes liked well Cortes, wherevpon he ap-
pointed two Captaines, whose names were Alonso de
Auila, and Peter de Aluorado, and to eache of them six-
tie menne. The same nyghte he sente certaine Sout-
yers with a sea compasse, to lie in an ambulche in the
woodde whiche stode betwene the riuer and the towne,
for two considerations. The one, because the Indians
shoulde see, that there were no more Spanyardes in
the Ilande, then were the daye before. And the other
was, that hys menne hearing their watchword, shoulde
assaulte the towne on the land side. And as sone as the
day appeared, came eight boates of Indians armed, wher-
as our Campe was pitched, who broughte a little

victuals

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vittaille, saying they could get no more, because that the inhabitants of the Towne were fledde, with feare of them, and their deformed vessels, desiring them to returne aboard their Shippes, and not to disquiet the people of that Countrey. The interpreter answered, that it was against humanitie to suffer them to perish with hunger, yea, and if they would heare the cause of their coming they should shortly see what profite would rebound vnto them. The Indians replied, that they would take no counsell of straungers, and men whome they knew not. Likewise, they thought not good to lodge such guests in their houses, for they seemed terrible, and such as would be commanders. But if they would needs haue water, they might take riuer water, or els make welles on the Hoze, for so did they at their neede.

Then Cortez seeing that wordes preuailed not, he signified vnto them that he would enter their Towne by force, to see it and their Countrey, for to giue thereof relation to the greatest prince in the world, who had sent them thither: requesting them to be there with contented, considering he ment not to disquiet them: and if they would not permit the same, he would commend himselfe to his God, and to the strength and force of his men. The Indians answered againe, that they should depart, and not thus bragge in other mens land, for in no wise they would permitte them to enter their Towne. And if with this warning they would not depart, they meant to kill both him, and as many as were with him. Yet Cortez ceased not to vse all humanitie with those barbarous people, according to the commandement and instructions giuen vnto him by the King of Castill, which was, to require those people oftentimes with peace, before the attempting of warre, or entring perforce into their Townes and Countrey, so that yet a
gaine

gaine he consulted them with peace, promising them libertie with good entertainment, assuring them of things profitable both for body and soule, and that they myght accompt themselves happy with the knowledge thereof: but if now they would refuse his offer, he did then warne them to make them ready for the evening, for befoze the going downe of the Sonne, he did hope with the help of his God, to rest and take vp his lodging in the Towne, in despite of all the inhabitants thereof, who had refused his offer.

The Indians laughed at his talke, and skoyning at him, they returned to the Towne, to enforme their fellows of the pride and madnesse that they thought they hadde hearde. Then the Spanyardes went to dinner, and hauing well refreshed themselves, they putte on their Armour, and went aboarde their Boates and Bergantines, looking for some aunswere from the Indians, and seeing the Sonne decline apace, and no aunswer, Cortez aduised the Spanyardes that lay in ambushe in the wodde, to giue assault, and he embarked himselfe with his rapier and Targette, gyuing likewise assaulte with nere two hundred men, who coming nere the Towne walles, discharged his Ordnance, and leapt into the water to the knees, and began valiantly to assault the walles and bulwarkes. The Indians seeing their enemies so nigh vnto them, beganne to fight with courage, shooting arrowes, throwing of darts and stones, wherewith they hurte aboute twenty Spanyardes: yea, and though the fearefull noise of the Ordnance did many times so annoy them, being things so straunge, and neuer befoze scene of them, yet they fledde not from the walles, but resisted the Christians valiantly, and suffered them not to enter the Towne that way, if they had not bin assaulted in another place. But when the Company that lay in ambush

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heard the shooting of their fellows, they began likewise their onset. The Indians knowing nothing what was prepared behinde their backs, and hauing also their hands full in defending the entrance by the riuer: and the Chistians finding that part of the towne without resistance, entred in with a terrible noyse, killing as many as they met. When the tolongemen vnderstood their ouersight, and would haue remedied it, and fledde from the place where Cortez was giuing combat, where by Cortez and his company entered the towne at ease, without contradiction, so that hee and the other company of his souldiers met together at the Market place, and expulsed all the Indians out of the towne, except those that were taken prisoners, and the carcases of the dead. When the Chistians sought the spoyle, and founde nothing but Turkie Venises, and some things wrought of Cotten wolle, but very little Gold.

There was that day aboue foure thousand Indians in fight and defence of the towne: There was much Indian blood shed, because they fought naked, many were wounded, and selue captiue. Cortez lodged himselfe with his armie in the chiefeest Temple of the Idolles, where was roome sufficient. They kept that night good watch, as in a house of enemies, but the poore Indians durst not once interrupt them. After this fort was Potonchan taken, being the first Cittie that Cortez wanne by force in all his Conquest.

the west India.

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The Battell of Cintla.

ALl that night Cortez slept not, but rather occupi-
ed himselfe in carrying the wounded men, and o-
ther stuffe aboard the ships, and also to disenbarke
thirtene Hoyses, and the residue of his men that
he had left aboard, the which he brought to passe befoze the
Sunne rising, although the Tawascans had notice there-
of. When the Sunne was risen, he had with his com-
pany made vnto G D D their prayers, and mustered
his men, where were at that time in Campe neare
fue hundred Spanyarden, thirtene Hoyses, and sixe
pieces of Ordnance: These Hoyses were the first that
euer came into that Countrey, whiche now is called
new Spaine. He planted his men and Ordnition in good
order, and thus marches forwarde towarde Cintla. The
Indians seeing this preparation, began also to make rea-
die, and to place in good order fortie thousand men in five
compantes: their meeting was in ploughed land among
many deepe lakes and poudes, very daungerous to passe,
so that our men by reason thereof were brought out of
order. And Hernando Cortez with his hoysmen went to
seek a better passage, and to enclose himselfe among cer-
taine trees on their left hand, soz to set vpon the enemies
when time should serue. The souldiers proceeded on, and
passed many marishe groundes, untill they came to the
filled. The Indians were expert in those places where
they beganne the battaile, shooting with their bowes
and slinges, and throwing of dartes. Although our men
did some hurt among them with their Crossebows, hand-
gunnes, and ordnance, when they were in place to shot,
yet the Indians pursued our men so thicke, that they could
not put them off, soz by pollicie, the Indians of Potonchan
hadde sought out that place: and it is to bee thought
that

Care of a
good Cap-
taine.

Fortie thou-
sand Indians.

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that they were not barbarous, nor of small understanding in warres, yet notwithstanding with much payne, our men gatte out of that place, and obtained another somewhat better, and moze playner grounde, whereas they might vse their Ordnance, and fight with their weapons bodye to bodye. But the Indians being so greate a number, dyane our men to so narrowe a place, that they were fayne to ioyne backe to backe for their owne defence, yea and for all that were in marvellous greataunger, for they had no roome to vse their Ordnance, nor yet Horsemen to make them waye. They being in this perplexitie, and readie to dye, suddenly appeared a Horseman with a speckled Horse, whome they iudged to be Captaine Morla, which Horseman sette vpon the Indians, and made them retyze: and hauing made spate then besoze, they sette afreshe vpon the enimies, and slewe some of them. In this meane tyme the Horsemanne faded away, and was not sene, and with his absence the Indians beganne afreshe, and enclosed the Christians in the same danger that they were in besoze: then the Horsemanne appeared againe nere oure menne, and made marvellous way among the enimies, where vpon our menne seeing this succoure, gaue the onfet againe with great courage, and slewe and hurt many Indians, but at the best season, the Horseman bannished away cleane out of sighte, and when the Indians sawe not the Horsemanne, with feare of whome they fledde, thinking that he hadde bin a Centaure, and that the Horse and man was all one incorporate, they returned againe with liuely courage, and vied our Christians woyle than they hadde done besoze. When the Horseman returned the third tyme, and putte the Indians to flight with great hurte, whom our souldiers pursued with great slaughter.

Perill of
the Christi-
ans.

A miracle.

Polio

the vvest India.

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Now at this instant came Cortez with all his company of hoysmen, being wearied with the trauell in passing such strange lakes and wildernesse, whereof the countrey is replenished. Our men being ioyfull of his comming, they began to enforme him what wonders they had seene a hoysman do, which came to succour them, demanding of him which of their companie it was. Cortez answered and faithfully assured them, that it was none of their company, because it was not possible for any of them to come any sooner: Then they all gaue God praise, believing that it was a helpe sent from heauen. Cortez said (my deare fellows) forwarde, for God is with vs. Then the hoysmen set vpon the Indians, and with force of lancee & zoue them out of the marish ground, and brake their maine battell. The Indians incontinent left the field, and fled into the thicke woods, the footmen folloved them, and slue aboue thousand Indians, besides many other that were hurt. There were aboue twentie Spaniards wounded with arrows and stones.

And whether it were with labour of the battell, or with excessive heats, or with drinking the water of that place, there fell such a sitch in their loynes, that about a hundred of them fel flat vpon the ground, not able to go nor stand, their fellows being forced to carry them on their backs. But it pleased God that the same night the paine went from them, being in the morning wel again. Who seeing themselves deliuered from so many perils, gaue most humble thanks to the almighty God, that had miraculously deliuered them. They all agreed that this time they had seene the strange Hoysman, with the speckled hoys, fight in their saour, as is aforesaid, believing generally it was a myracle, as certainly it did appaare, for the Christians did not alone see this thing, but also the Indians did much note it, for the marvellous fiercenesse

A fodaine
disease.

The Conquest of

where with he came vpon them, with such great mur-
ther, that they were amazed, and almost blinde with his
brightnesse, being so trodden vnder his fete. The ca-
ptiue Indians after the battell declared the circumstance
thereof.

The Lord Tausco submitteth himselfe
to the Christians.



Ortez released some of his Pziso-
ners, and sent them to their Loyde,
saying: that it grieved him the hurt
done on both parties, but the fault
was theirs. And that God was
witnesse of his innocencie, and also
of his curtesie offered vnto them.
But notwithstanding all that was

past, he pardoned their error with such condition, That
if incontinent oꝝ within two dayes, their Loyde would
come vnto him, to yelde satisfaction of their malice and
Stubboynnesse, and to treat of peace and friendship, war-
ning and aduising them, that if they came not within
the time appointed, he would enter into his Coun-
trei, burning and spoyling with slaughter both great and
small, armed and vnarmed: with which message the mes-
sengers departed, and Cortez returned to the Towne to
cure his wounded men. The next day came fiftie auncient
Indians to craue pardon foꝝ their offence, and also
licence to bury the dead, with likewise safeconduct that
their rulers and pzincipall persons might safely come
vnto the towne. Cortez graunted their request, warning
them to make any lyes oꝝ yet to conspire againe: and al-
so

The Cacike
embassadors.

the vvest India.

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so if their lordes came not personally, he would not heare any moze embassadozs: with this rigorous comādemēt and ppoſtatiō they departed. These Indians ſeeing their strength would not pꝛeuailē, thinking the Chꝛiſtians to be intinſible, their Lordes and chiefest perſons did determine to goe and viſite the chꝛiſtians and their captaine. And accoꝛding to the time appointed, the Lordē of that town and other foure Lordes his neyghboꝛs came vnto Cortez with a good trayne of their vaſſals and ſeruitours, and pꝛeſented vnto him, beaſt, turkie hennies, and fruites, with other like pꝛouiſion foꝛ his hoſt, with foure hundred pieces of gold of the value of 400. double duckets, wth other ſmall ietwels, and certaine Turkie ſtones of ſmall value. And twentie women ſlaues, to ſerue to make beaſt and oꝛdeine meate foꝛ the whole army. He craied and beſeeched Cortez to pardon his ſozmer offence. And to accept and receiue them into his frienſhippe. And in token of his obedience, hee and his fellowes did willingly deliuer their bodieſ, landes and goods into his handes and power. Cortez did louingly receiue them, & gaue vnto them certaine triſles of his warres, which they eſteemed much. And thoſe Indians hearing the hoꝛſes and maresney, they maruelled at their neyng, thinking that the hoꝛſes could ſpeake, and demaunded of the Chꝛiſtians what they ſaid, (many quoth they) theſe hoꝛſes are ſoze offended with you becauſe ye fought with them, and would haue you corꝛected and chaſtened foꝛ your ſo doing. The ſimple Indians hearing this, pꝛeſented roſes and Cynea Hens vnto y^e hoꝛſes, deſiring them to eate and to pardon them.

Certaine

The Conquest of

Certaine questions that Cortez deuised of
the Cacike Tualco.



Any things passed betwene our men and the Indians: for where the Indians vnderstood them not, their behaviour was much to laugh at. And sing conuersation with our men, and seeing they receyued no hurt of them, they brought to the towne their wines and chyldren, which were no small

number. And among many matters that Cortez communed with Tualco, by the mouth of Ieronimo de Aguilas his interpreter.

The first question was: Whether there were mines of gold or silver in that countrey, and from whence they had that small quantitie that they had brought unto them?

The second question was: Why they denied him their friendship, more then the other captaine that had bene there the yeare before?

The third was: Why they being so many in number, fled from them being so few?

The fourth was: To give the to vnderstand the mighty power of the king of Castill. And last of all to giue them knowledge of the faith of Iesus Christ.

The answer
of Cacike.

As touching sir (quoth he) the Mines of gold and silver in our countrey, we seeke for none, for we seeke not after treasure and riches, but we procure and desire a quiet life. And that gold which we haue, was found by chance: for we know not what mines doe meane. Yet notwithstanding further within the land, whereas the Sun doth hide himselfe, there the people do find much gold, and are giuen to seeke the same.

And

And as touching the Captaine that was here of late, we seeing the men and shippes to be such as we had neuer before seen, spake vnto them and demanded what they would haue, they said that their comming was, to change their merchandise for gold and nothing else, wherfoze we graunted to their request. But now seeing greater vessels and more in number, we feared least ye came to take our substance. And I knowing my selfe nothing inferiour to any of my neighbours, would not permit any iniury to be offered me, and that he & his subjects did esteem themselves the most valiant of men of warre in all these parties, and that none durst take away their goods, women, and children, to bee sacrificed by force, wherevpon he thought to withstand those few Christians, but (quoth he) I found my selfe deceived, seeing we could not kill any of your company. And likewise the brightnesse of your weapons did blinde vs, and the woundes you made were incurable.

But the noyse and lightning of your ordinaunce did more amaze vs, then either thunder-clappes or tempest: and also the great spoyle that you made among vs there with: likewise your strange horses made vs greatly to wonder, to behold their open mouthes, wee feared to be swallowed. And then to consider their swiftnesse in running, we knew no creature could escape them. But the first horse that fought with vs, put vs in marvellous fear, being but one, but when wee espied many, then all our helpe was past, for wee believed that the horse and man was all one incorporated.

How

The Conquest of

How the Indians of Potónchan brake downe
their Idols, and worshipped
Christ.



With the relation of Traualco Cortez
saue that the countrey was not for
Spaniards, nor yet hee tooke it a
thing conuenient to settle them-
selues where no golde nor silver
was, or other riches. And so preten-
ded to passe forwarde to discouer
westward the land endued with
golde. But before his departure, he declared to those
newe conquered Indians, that the Lord in whose name
he and his company had taken that iourney, was king of
Spaine and Emperour of Christians, and the greatest
Prince in the worlde, vnto whom many Kings and
Princes did homage and obey. And that his rule and
gouernement in iustice proceeded from God, being
iust, holie, peaceable and swete, and also the Monar-
chie of the vniuersall did appertaine vnto him. And for
these causes he required them to yeld themselves as his
subiectes. And if they would doe so, there should ensue
vnto them great profite, lawes and policie. And as tou-
ching their religion, he declared their blindness & great
abuses which they vsed in worshipping many Gods, and
in making sacrifice vnto them with mans blood, yea and
thinking that those images and Idols, did or coulde doe
good or euill vnto them, being dumbe, without life or
soule, yea and the worke of their owne handes. He certi-
fied them of one good maker of heauen and earth, and all
creatures whom the christians did worship and serue, and
that

that all creatures ought to doe the same . In conclusion with this doctrine they brake downe their Idols, and rescued the crosse, Cortez hauing first declared vnto them the great miseries that the son of God suffered on the crosse for mankinde. And in the greatest temple of Potonchan, set vp a Crosse in remembrance of the death of Christ, and celebrated the feast vpon their knees, and the multitude of Indians likewise, and departed to their meate. Cortez desired them within two daies to come againe to their diuine seruice. And that day was Palme Sunday, And so they did, and brought an infinite number of men, women and childzen of other villages with, them which was strange to beholde. And there generally gaue their vassallship to the king of Spaine into the handes of Hernando Cortez, with protestation of perpetuall friendship with the Spanishe nation . So that these were the first vassals that the Emperour had in the new Spaine. And this feast and ceremonie ended, our men tooke shipping with the palme boughes in their handes. In this doing Cortez deserued no lesse praise then in his victorie, for he vsed wisdome with manhoode in all his doings: he left those Indians with a new faith, and the towne free and without hurt, he tooke none for slaues, nor yet any spoile, nor exchanged his merchandize for anything, although he abode there twentie daies. The towne is called in the Indian tongue Potonchan, that is to say, a place that stincketh; and our menne named it, the Victorie.

The Lord (as ye haue heard) was called Tualco, and therefore the first Spaniards that came thither, named the riuer Tualco, but Grijalua called it after his owne name, whose name and remembrance will not so soon be forgotten. And truly all those that doe discover

The Conquest of

netive Countries, ought to make perpetuall their owne names. This towne doth containe neare fve and twentiethousand houses (as some say) but as euery house standeth by himselfe like an Islande, it seemeth much bigger then it is indeed. The houses are great, made of lime, stone, and brick: others there are made of mud-wall and rafters, and couered with straw or weeds. Their dwelling is in the upper parts of the house, for the great moistnesse of the riuers and lakes, and for feare of fire, they haue their houses separated the one from the other. Without the towne they haue more fairer houses then within, for their recreation and pleasure. They are bosome people, and go almost naked, and eat mans flesh sacrificed. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes, dings, darts, and lances. The armor wherewith they defend themselves, are Targets and shulles made of wood or barke of trees, and some of gold very thinne. They haue also a certaine kinde of harnais made of cotten wolle wrapped about their stomacke.

The good entertainment that Cortez had
in Saint Iohn de Vlhua.



Aptaine Cortez and his company being embarked, sayled Westwards as nigh the shoare as they might. And this coast hauing no harboures, they found no place where they might anchor safely with their greater vessels, untill they arriued vppon Paundie-Thursday at Saint Iohn de Vlhua, which seemed a good harbor for them. The Indians of this place call this harbor Chalchicoeca, there the first came to anchor. They were not so sone at Roade, but incontinent came

came two little boates named Acales, enquiring for the Generall of the Flēte, who when they came to his presence, did humble reuerence vnto him, and sayd vnto him, that Teudilli the Gouernour of that Province sent to knowe what people they were, and what they would haue, and whether they meant to stay there, or proceede further. Aguilar did not well vnderstande that language. Cortez caused him to come aborde his Shippe, gyuing them thanks for their paynes, and visitation. He made vnto them a banquet of Wine and Conserua, and sayde vnto them, that the next day following hee would come alande, and talke with the Gouernour, whom hee besought not to alter him, nor his people with his comming a shoze, for he meant not to molest him, but rather to pleasure and profite him. So that these messengers were rewarded with cer- tayne gistes, they eate and dranke, but yet suspected euill, although they liked the Wine well, wherefoze they desired to haue thereof, and also of the Conserua, to present vnto their Lord, which was giuen them, and so departed.

The next day beeing god Fryday, Cortez came alande with his Boates full of menne, and byought his Horses and Artillarie a shoze, by little and little, with all his men of warre, and two hundred Indians of Cuba, which serued to toyle and labour. Hee planted himselfe in the best scituation that hee could finde among the sandie Bankes on the Sea side, and there pitched his Campe, and hauing neare that place manie trees, they buyt them Cottages with boughes.

From a little Willage that was at hand, came manie Indians to gaze at things so strange, and the like neuer seen vnto them, and byought with them gold to barter for

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such toys as the two little Boates had brought from them before. They brought also bread and meate ready dressed after their use likewise to sell. Our men chaunged with them Bead-stones of Glasse, looking Glasses, Sifters, Knives, Pinnes, and such other wares, whereof the Indians were not a little glad, returning home to their houses, shewing their neighbours. The ioy and pleasure that these simple soules toke with these trifles, was so great, that the next day they came againe with other Indians laden with Jewels of gold. Turkey hens, bread, meate, and fruit, that sufficed for all the Campe, and for the same they receyued needles, and Bead-stones of Glasse, but the poore soules thought themselves thereby so rich, that they knewe not where they were with ioy and pleasure, yea, and they thought that they had deceyued the strangers. Some Cortez seeing the great quantitie of golde brought and bartered so foolishly for trifles of no vauelue, proclaymed throughout all his hoste, that no Christian shoulde take anye golde vpon great penaltie, and that they shoulde all shewe, as though they knewe not to what purpose the golde serued, and that they passed not for it, because they shoulde not thinke that the desire thereof had brought them thither, and so they did dissemble that great demonstration of golde, to see what was meant thereby, and whether the Indians hadde brought that Golde, to proue whether their comming was for that or no. On Easter day in the morning, came Teudilli the Governour to the Campe, from Cotosla his dwelling place, which was eight leagues from thence. He brought attending vpon his person foure thousande men without weapon, and the most part well clothed, some of them with garments of Cotton, rich after their manner. And others naked, laden with victuals in great abundance, which was

Wisdoms.

The comming
of the gouernour.

the west India.

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was straunge to see. Teudilli according to their blance, did his reuerence to the Captaine, burning frankincense, and little strawes touched in the blood of his owne bodie, he presented vnto him the victuals, and certaine Jewels of golde verie rich and well wrought, and other things made of feathers verie curious, straunge and artificiaall. Cortes embraced him in his armes, and receyued him ioyfully, saluting all his companie. He gaue to Teudilli a coate of silke, a byrth, and a coller of glasse, with manie other pieces of Haberdash wares, whiche was highly esteemed of him.

A strange
salutation.

The talke of Cortez with Teudilli.



At the former talke was had without an enterpretour, because Ieronimo de Aguilar vnderstode not this language, because it differed much from the speech of the other Indians, whereas hee had bene captiue: for which cause Cortez was somewhat carefull, because hee would largely haue discoursed with Teudilli. It chanced that among those twentie women giuen him in Potonchan, one of them stode talking with a seruant of Teudilli, because shee vnderstode them as men of her owne language. Cortez espying this, called her asyde, and promised her more then libertie, so that shee woulde bee a truicke and faithfull interpreter betwixt him and those Indians, and that hee wouldesteeme her as his secretarie. And further demaunded of her of what linage shee was, then shee answered, that shee was naturall of the Countrey that bordered vpon Xalisco, and of a towne called

A marvellous
hap.

The Conquest of

called Vilita, daughter vnto riche parentes, and of the kinned of the Loyde of that lande. And being a little girle, certaine Merchantes did steale her away in tyme of warre, and brought her to be solde at the sayze of Xicalanco, which is a greate Towne nere Coasacualco, not farre distant from Tualco: and after this sorte she came to the power of the Loyd of Potonchan. This woman was Christened Marina. She and her fellowes were the firste Christians baptised in all the newe Spayne, and the onely with Aguilar, were Interpreters betwixt the Indias and our men.

Howe Cortez being assured of his true Interpreters, he celebrated his accustomed diuine seruice, and Teudilli with him, and after they hadde dyed in Cortez bys Lente in presence of many Spanyardes and Indians, Cortez enioyned Teudilli howe that he was bassall to the Loyd Charles of Austria, Emperour of the Christians, and King of Spayne, and Loyde ouer a greate parte of the woylde, whome great Kinges and princes did serue and obey: and that all Princes were glad to be his friendes for his Vertue and mighte. And he hauing aduertisement of that Countrey and Loyde thereof, hadde sente him thither to visite him on his behalfe, and to informe him of certaine secreete matters, the effect whereof he hadde in writing. Sir (quoth Teudilli,) I am very glad to heare the Maiestie and Vertue of the Emperoure your maister, but you shall vnderstande, that my Loyde the Emperoure Melzuma is as greate and as good a Prince as he. And I doe muche maruell, that there shoulde be anye so greate a Prince in the whole woylde, but yet according to youre request, I will certifie hym, and knowe bys pleasure, for I trust (quoth he) in the clemencie of my Prince, that youre newes and message shall be acceptable vnto him;
and

The answer
of Teudilli.

and you well recompensed for your paines. Cortez then commanded all his men to set themselves in order of battayle with pike and drumme, and to skirmish before Teu-
dilli. And that the horsemen should runne, and the ordi-
nance shotte off, to the entent that Mutezuma should be
aduertised thereof. The Indians did muche behold the
gesture, apparell and bearded of our men, they wondered
to see the horses runne, they feared the brightnesse of the
swoydes, and at the noyse of the ordinaunce they fell flatte
to the ground, thinking that the heauens did fall. And the
shippes, they held opinion was the God of the ayre called
Quezalcouale, which came with the temples on his backe,
for they dayly looked for him. Teudilli dispatched the poste
to Mexico, to Mutezuma, aduising him of all that he had
sene, and demanded golde of him for to giue vnto the
Captaine of that newe people. Because Cortez had inquir-
ed of him, whether Mutezuma had gold or no, he answered
(yes) many wordes Cortez, I and my fellows haue a
certaine disease of the harte, and golde helpeth vs. This
message wente from the campe to Mexico in one day and
a night, which is 210. mile, and the poste carried paynted,
the horses and horsemen vpon them, the maner of their
armour, & howe many pices of ordinaunce they had, and
what number of bearded men there were: and as for the
shippes, he had giue aduise as sone as they arrived, shew-
ing the greatnesse and quantitie of them. All these things
also sayd, Teudilli caused to be paynted in cloth of Cotton
very liuely, that Mutezuma might see it. The cause that
this message wente so farre in so shorte a space, was, they
had certaine places that postes attended, as we may say
horsepostes, which gave alwaies from hand to hande the
paynted cloth: they doe runne on foote faster in this sorte,
then by horsepost, and is more of antiquitie than horse-
post: Also Teudilli sent to Mutezuma the garments & many
other

The disease
of the Spani-
ards.

The Conquest of

other things which Cortez had given him, which things were after wards found in the treasure of Mutezuma.

The present and answer that Mutezuma sent vnto Cortez.



After the message sent, and the answer promised, Teudilli toke his leane, and within two sight shote of Cortez his campe, he caused a thousand cottages of boughes to be made, and left there two principall men as Captaines ouer two thousand persons men & women, and the departed for Corosla his dwelling place. The two Captaines had charge to provide for Christians of all things necessary, and the women serued to grinde their cozne and make bread of Maiz, and to dresse their fish and flesh and other vittails, and the men serued to carry the dresled meate to the Christians campe, and wood, water, and grasse for the horses, and all other necessaries, and this they passed eight daies. In this meane season returned the poste with a riche and gentle present, which was many couerlets and clothes of coiten, white, and of other colours wrought, many tusses of feathers very faire, and some things wrought with gold and feathers, quantitie of Jewels & peces of gold and silver, two thime wheles, the one of silver which wayed 25 markes with the signe of the Sonne, and the other whele of gold which wayed a hundred markes, made like vnto the Sonne, with many leaues and beafts, a very curious peece of worke. these two things they helde for Gods in that country, & giue them the colours of the metall that is likest them, every whele was two yards & a half broad, and so proportionally in compasse rounde about, this present was esteemed at 20000 Ducats. This present shoulde haue

haue bene giuen to Grijalua, if he had not so soon departed as the Indians reported. He also gaue vnto Cortes this answer, that Mutezumas his hope was verye gladde to knowe, & to be friend to such a mighty Prince as the King of Spayne was, and that in his time should arriue in his countrey such new people, & the like neuer seene before, and that he was ready to shew them all pleasure & honour, requesting him to see what things he stood in neede of for the time that he meant to abide there, as well for himselfe as for his ships, army and decesses, and it should be provided abundantly: yea and also if he could finde any thing in that countrey to his contentment, to present to the Emperour of Christians, he would willingly provide it. And as touching the desire that Cortez had to come to visite & to haue communication with him, he thought it impossible, because that he was sickly and coulde not come vnto the sea coast, and likewise for Cortez to come where he did abide, it was harde, troublesome and difficult, as well for the many and cragged mountains, as also the countrey, wild, desart, and without habitation, and shoulde be constrained to suffer hunger, thirst, and other necessitie: and moreover the inhabitants of much part of the way that he shoulde passe, were his enemies, both cruel & cursed people, and knowing the to be his friends, they should not escape with life.

All these excuses did Mutezuma by the mouth of Teudilli declare vnto Cortes, thinking to drive him fro his purpose & pretended iourney, alleaging the foresaid difficulties and perils, the Indians did also hope that with some contrary weather they should be forced to leaue that coast and countrey. Notwithstanding this contradiction, so much the more desire had Cortes to visite Mutezuma, who was so great a prince in that parties, & thoroughly to discover the treasure which he imagined to be ther. And hauing receiued & presented, & also & answer, he gaue vnto Teudilli a garment of his

The excuse of
Mutezuma.

The Conquest of

stone wearing, and many other trifles of his Haberdashy, to be sente unto Mutezuma, saying that if it were for no other purpose but onely to see so mightie and vertuous a Prince, it should be requisite and iust to trauiyle vnto his Court, yeto much the more, he was of duetie constrained to doe the Embassage which the Emperour of Christians had willed and commaunded him to doe, for otherwise he should incurr the displeasure of the King his master, wherefore he besought Teudilli yet once againe to aduertise Mutezuma of his constant determinatio, because he should vnderstande that he would not leaue off his pretended purpose for any inconuenience that was obiects vnto him. Alleging moreover, that he who had shuen 200. leagues by sea, might well goe 70. leagues by land, and considering that he had many at his charge with small provision, and likewise his shippes in danger, he required that with all expedition the messengers should be dispatched. Teudilli desired him to recreate himself, and not to take any grieffe, for as much as he himselfe daily aduertise Mutezuma of his proceedings, even so with all expedition the full resolution should come from Mexico, although it were somewhat farre off. And as for his victuals, he should take no care, for abundantly he should be provided. And also desired him for so much as he was not well placed among those sandy bankes, that it might please him, to goe with him to certaine towne aboute fye or seuen leagues frō thence. Correz refused that offer, wherevpon Teudilli departed, and he abode there ten dayes looking for answere from Mutezuma.

How

the vvest India.

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How Cortez knew of discord and dissention
to be in the Countrey



In this meane season, certain Indians were espied, that went lurking a far off among the sandy hilles. And those came not neare the Indians that serued the Spaniard, Cortez demaunded what people they were, and soz what cause they went lurking so far off, and came not neerer vnto them.

The two captaines answered, that they were husbandmen, that went about their husbandry. Cortez lyked not their answer, but suspected that they had told him a lie: for it seemed vnto him that those people desired to come among the Christians, and that they durst not for feare of the Indians of Teuclili, and so it was in very deede. For all that coast and maine land within as farre as Mexico, was full of the newes and strange thyngs that our men had done in Potonchan. Wherefore they all desired to see them, and to talke with them, but they durst not for feare of the Indians of Culhua, who are subiects vnto Mutezuma, whereupon Cortez sent fve Spaniards to cal them with signes and tokens of peace. This company of Indians were in number twentie, and were glad to beholde those fve men coming towardes them, and were desirous to see such strange people and ships, wherefore they came willingly altogether vnto Cortez his Tent.

These Indians did differ much from all the other Indians yf skene, for they were higher of person, and had the grilles of their noses fiste, hanging ouer their mouthes, and rings of Jette and Amber hanging thereat. They had also their nether lippes boyled, and in the holes rings of gold, and Turky Stones, which weyed so much,

The Indians
attire.

The Conquest of

that their lips hanged doونه over their chinnies, and their teeth remained bare : The which custome although they vsed for a bzauerie , it seemed a foule and vgly sight in the Spaniards eyes, and very loathsome.

The other Indians of Mutezuma, had their lippes and eares bozed, with rounde stones hanging at the iaggess thereof, yet they had not such foule slittes in their noses, but they had such bozed holes that a man might put any finger of his hand thzough them, with rings of golde and stone hanging thereat, the euill fauoured sight of their faces made our men to muse.

Cortez communed with them by his interpreter Marina, to knowe from whence they were, they answered, that they were dwellers in Zempoallan, a Citie distant from thence one dayes iourney, situated vpon a river side, and bozdered vpon the Countrey of Mutezumazin , and that their Cazike or Lozde had sent them, to see what Gods were come in those Teucallis, that is to say, temple, saying, also that they durst not come soner, not knowing what people they were.

Cortez made much of them, and shewed a cherefull countenance vnto them, so they seemed very bestiall, he declarrd vnto them that hee was gladde of their coming, and to knowe the good will that their Lozde bare vnto him, and gaue them Haberdash toys, and shewed them the hozles and armour, a strange sight to them. And so they went thzough the armie looking and gazing here and there as men amazed . And in all the time they abode there, they vsed no conuersation with the other Indians. Cortez enquired of Marina the cause therof, and she said, that those men did not only speak an other language, but also did appertaine to another Lozd, who was not bassall to Mutezuma, but by force and extortion.

Cortez was verie glad of that newes , so hee con-
 lectured

lectured by the talke of Teudilli, that Mutezuma had
warres and enemies, whereupon hee tooke aside thize
of those Indians which seemed most wyldest, and de-
maunded of them by Marina, what Lordes there were
in that Countrey: they aunswered that Mutezuma was
Lord over all, although in euerie Citie and Prouince
was a Lord, yet neuerthelesse all in generall did pay
tribute and serue him as vassals, nay rather like slaves.
But yet many of them of late dayes did reknowledge
him by force of armes, and payde vnto him such tolls
and tribute that they were not accustomed to pay, of
which number their Lord of Zempoallan was one of
them, and other his neighbours, who many times helde
him warre, to be free from his tyrannie and bondage, but
yet sayd they, it preuailed not, for his host was great and
his warriors valiant

Cortez receyued great pleasure to finde in that Coun-
treys dissention and discorde among some noble men, and
at diuision among themselves, thinking thereby the bet-
ter to bring his purpose to passe. He gaue thanks vnto
those Indians for their aduise, offering vnto them his
fauour, helpe and friendship, praying them to come often
to his campe: and so tooke his leaue of them with his com-
mendations to their Lord, and sent his certaine presents
with aduertisement, that shortly he would come and see
him, yea, and also serue him.

How

The Conquest of

How Cortez went to survey the country
with foure hundred men.



At the end of tenne dayes came Teudilli backe againe, and brought certaine cloth of Cotton, and other things made of feathers, well wrought, for recompence of the thing sent unto Mexico. And warned Cortez to depart, for at that time there was no remedy to see Mutezuma, and to looke what was necessarie for his promise and furniture, and it should be provided, offering the same service at any time that he should happen to come that way. Cortez would not accept the offer, saying: That he would not depart from that Countrey, untill he had both seene and talked with Mutezuma. The gouernour Teudilli yet againe replied, that he should not contend therein, and with those wordes departed from him. The next night following he with all those Indians, as well men as women which attended to serue and provide the Spanish campe, went from thence: so that in the morning all the cottages were emptye, where those seruitors had bene.

Cortez suspecting this alteration, provided himself with preparation for haste, and finding the matter contrary to his expectation, he deliberated to take a sure road or harbor for his navy, and also a good plot or situation to build upon, for then he fully ment to obtaine perpetuities, and to conquer the land, considering that he had found such great tokens of gold, plate, & other riches, and there about within a whole league compass, was so fit place for y purpose: for why? all was sandy ground, & such as tolled to & fro with the wind, with other moorish ground not meete for habitation. In consideration wherof he sent Francisco de Morteio, with two bergantines, and fiftie men, to runne along the coast,

coast, untill they should finde some reasonable poart and good situation to build vpon.

Monteio proceeded on his voyage, and layed in sight of lande, which he called *San Marcos*, without finding any port or harbour, landing the shadowes of a Roche, which stode some what distant from the lande a sea-way, so that at thys weathers ende he returned backe againe with the forelayd netues. Having runne so little a way, he fell into such terrible currants, that although hee made waye with oares and sayles, yet the same Current forced him backe againe. Also he brought netues, that the Indians of that coast did let themselves blow, offering the same vnto them vppon little strawes, in token of friendship or deitie.

The relation of Monteio contented not Cortez, yet notwithstanding hee pretended to goe to the shade of succoure of the Roche, because hee was enformed, that neare that place, was two faire Riuer, with store of wooddes, necessary for Winter and fire woodde, great quantitie of Stones to build with, faire pastures, and groundes for tillage, although the harbour was not sufficient for his stauie and contratation, because that roade was without defence, and open vppon the North, which is the winde that mosse ruleth with greatest hurt vpon that coast.

And also considering that Teudilli and his men were departed, fearing also the want of vittuals, and likewise, that his shippes mighte perishe vppon the shoze, hee commaunded to lade aboard all their stuffe, and hee with foure hundred menne, and all his boxes, followed on the hogghe waye that the Indians hadde gone.

After he had iourneyed thre leagues, he came to a faire vadeable Riuer, and passing ouer the Riuer, hee

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founde a towne not inhabited, for the inhabitantes thereof were fledde with feare: he entered into a great house, which seemed the place of the Lorde of the Towne, built with timber and earthen walles, the foundation whereof was raised with hardie worke, about a fadome high: the rofe was covered with strawe, but of a faire and straunge workemanship inwardes, with many great partitions, some full of pottes of honey, and spitz, with other graine which they keep in store all the year: other rooms had cloth of Cotton twell, wrought with feathers, golde and silver.

Cortez commanded Proclamation to be made, that none of his company shoulde take any thing away, but on payne of death (onely victuals excepted) to the ende to obtaine the good will and friendship among the Indians.

There was in that Village a Temple, whiche hadde a little Tower with a Chappell on the toppe, and thence the Spaniards came into the Chappell, where they founde some Idolles, and many blodie papers, and much maner blood of those which hadde bene sacrificed, as Marina discerth.

They founde also the blocks, whereupon they bled to cutte open the men sacrificed, and the razours made of Flint, wherewith they opened their breastes, and placed out their hearts being alive, throwing them up toward Heaven as an offering, and after this done, they annotated their Idolles, and the papers they offered, and then burned them.

This sight put a great compassion, yea and a feare among our Spanyards, who did behold these things. From this Village they went to other three or foure, and founde none above two hundred houses, and all without people, yet well provided with victuall, as the first towne was.

Cortez

Cortez returned from thence to discharge his ships, and to take order to send for more men: and with desire to bestow habitation, in these affaires he occupied himselfe tenne dayes.

How Cortez rendred vp his charge and office with pollicie.



When Cortez was come where his shippes were, and the restone of his company, he began this talke, saying:
Now my louing friends and fel-
lowes, ye doe see what great mercie
God hath shewed vnto vs, in bring-
ing vs safe and in health to so good
and riche a Countrey, as by manifest

signes and tokens we haue alreadye seene, yea and how plentifull of meate, inhabited of people, better clothed, and of more iudgement & reason, then the others which ye haue seene, since your first comming: also better buildings, fields of grain & coyne: yea and it is to be thought, that the things not yet seene, do surmount all that hitherto ye haue plainly seene. Wherefore we ought to giue most hartie thanks vnto God, and to begin our habitation here. Whereas we shall enioy the grace and mercy of God. And to bying this matter to passe, me think best that we abide here, vntill we may finde a better port or situation. Also that we make a wall or Castell for our defence, if neede should happen, for the people of this land hath little ioy of our comming and abiding here.

It was then considered that from that place they might the sooner haue friendshippe and contraction with the Indians and Townes nexte adioyning, as Zempoalan, and others which were enemies to Mutezuma, and being in this order once placed, they mighte

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discharge their shippes; and sende them incontinent to Cuba, Santo Domingo, Iamayca, Borriquen, and other Ilandes, or else to Spayne for moze men, armour and Horses, and for clothing and victuals.

Pollicie.

Moreover, it was thought iust and mete, to sende relation of all their proceedings to the Emperours the King and maister, with the demonstration of golde, syluer, and other riches, which they had in their power.

And because all these things should be done in good order, Cortez determined as captaine generall, to appoint a Councill, Aldermen, and Judges.

And also ordeyne all other offices that should be necessary and needfull to rule and governe a Citie, which he then pretended to edifie and erecte, the whiche Magistrates should fully commaund, untill such time that the Emperour should otherwise provide in matters convenient for his service.

A good
subiecte.

After this diligence put in use, he solemnely took possession of all the land, in the name of the Emperour Charles King of Castill, with all the actes and ceremonies, as to such a matter apperteyned. And demaunded of Francisco Fernandez notarie appointed, that he should give unto him by testimonie in writing, all the actes done therein. All his company answered, that they did very well approve his proceedings and praysed, and also approued his determination, beseeching him to proceede accordingly, thence they were come to serue and obey him. When Cortez named Judges, Aldermen, Attorneys, Sergeant, Notary, and Towneclearke, and all other officers apperteyning to the good gouernement of a Citie, in the name and behalfe of the Emperoure his naturall Lord, and deliuered incontinent to the Judges white robes to beare in their handes in token of Iustice, and named the newe Citie to be builde, The riche Towne De la

De la vera Causa; because that on good Friday they had entered into that land. After these things finished, Cortez began before the said Notary, another at the presence of the Indges, who were Alonso Fernandez Portocarrero, and Francisco de Mörcois, in whose hands he made cession, and his desert from all titles and offices whiche here before he had received, which was his gouernership, captainship, and generall discoverer, remained in the Chancerie of Santo Domingo; at the hands of the Presidentes, who were then chiefe of the kings counsell, and Presidents, likewise he protested not to vse the power and authoritie of the gouernour of Cuba; Mainvall of India; for so much that hold none of them had any rate or gouernment in that Countrey which he and his followers had newly discovered, and begun to inhabite in the name of the king of Castill, as his naturall subjects; The which authoritie he likewise required to be set downe in record, and to haue a copie of the same.

How the Souldiers chiose Cortez for Captaine
Generall, and chiefe ruler in Iustice.



All the new Officers took possession and charge of their Offices, and entered into the Towne-house to counsell, according to the vse and custome of Castill. In the which congregation or counsel then holden, many matters were had in question as touching the good gouernement of the Commonweale. And among many other things, they all agreed to elect Hernando Cortez for Captaine generall and chiefe Iustice, and to give vnto him full power and authoritie

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for all matters appertaining to the warres and conquest, untill such time as the Emperour should otherwise provide: with this determination the next day following all the Aldermen, Judges, and Counsellors, went unto Cortez, and said unto him: Sir, we have great neede of a guide and captaine for the warres, to procede uppon the conquest of this countrey, wherefore untill such time as the Emperour shall provide therein, they all besought him to accept that office and charge, approuing him a man most fit for the same, both to rule & gouerne, for the great experience that they had scene of his courage, wisdom, and policie, and by vertue of their offices, did commaund him to accept the same, saying, that in so doing, God and the king should be faithfully serued. And they woulde thankfully gratifie the same, knowing that at his handes they should be ruled with iustice, bled with humilitie, and be preserued with diligence and strength. And for that purpose, they had chosen him for that office, giving vnto him their full & whole authoritie, submitting theselues vnder his hands, iurisdiction & defence. Cortez accepted the charge at smal entreating, for he desired nothing so much.

And being in this sort elected general, the counsell said vnto him, Sir you do wel vnderstand, that untill such time as we shall be better planted in this countrey, we haue not wherewith to maintaine our selues but only with such things as are aboord our ships. Therefore it may please you to commaund it to be brought a shoare, and that you take therof what shall seeme good vnto you, for your household and familie, and the residue may be sold at a reasonable price, & so to be diuided among them: and for payement they would al bind themselues, or else y presently it should be deducted out of the stocke, after that the kings fift part were subtracted. Likewise they desired him to value his ships and artillerie, because they would make
like

like payment for the same, and that from thence forwarde
the shippes should serue in common, for to passe to the I-
lands for bread, wine, clothes, weapons, horses, and other
things which should be needed for the new towne and ar-
my, for thereby they might bee better cheape provided
then if merchants should prouide them, considering al-
way they seek for excessive gains, saying that if it would
please him to accept this offer and request, they would
thankfully requite the same. Cortez answered, that at the
time he made his preparation and furniture in Cuba, he
meant not to sell his provision as others were to do, but he
would and did frankly giue it vnto them, although hee
had spent his goods and indebted himselfe therein. And in-
continent hee commaunded the maisters of the ships and
puruers, to bring a hand al their victuals to the towne house,
requiring the Aldermen to diuide it equally, to euery
man his part, without making any difference of him or of
any other, for (quoth he) in time of neede of victuals the
youngest hath as much allowance as the eldest. And al-
though I am indebted and do owe more then seven sh.
Duckets, I giue this victuall all frankly vnto you. And
as concerning the ships, I will do that which shall be most
conuenient for you all. And (quoth he) I will determine
nothing to be done with them, but will first giue you ad-
uise ment of the same.

All this did Cortez say, to get their loue and fauour, be-
cause there were many that loued him not, although in
very truth he was of his owne nature liberall and large
in experiance with all his souldiers in the warres.

And thus did Cortez say, and so ended the
first part of his speech, which was to the
Aldermen, and then hee began to speake to
the souldiers, and said vnto them, that hee
would giue them all victuall and payme-
nt, as hee had promised them, and that hee
would also giue them all weapons and
clothes, and that hee would also giue them
all horses, and that hee would also giue them
all other things which they should neede.

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The receiving of Cortez into



As much as the situation there was not convenient to place the newe worke, they determined to goe from thence to Agualizlan, which standeth neare the shadowe of the rocks that Montez had informed them of, whereupon Cortez commaunded the shippes to depart for that place. And he with his foure hundred men and horses went by land, and there met them, which may be about ten leagues iourney. In this order the fleet departed, and like wise Cortez with his company toward Zempoalla, which shone directly westward, and after he had iourneyed three leagues, he came to the river which divided the Lordship of Mutezuma and Zempoalla, and could finde no passage, wherefore hee was forced to retorne to the sea side, where with with a doe they passed over, and so travelled on that side of the river, and found cottages of fishermen, and other poor houses, and some sowne ground, and proceeding on their iourney, at length they came into very faire valleys, where was great steepe of deare, and still they went along the riuer side, hoping to finde some good towne; and in that space, they espyed neare twentie persons vpon the top of an hill. Cortez commaunded foure of his horsemen to fetch them vnto him, willing them to make signs of peace vnto them, but if they flie (quoth he) then follow them, untill you overtake them, for they shall stand vs in stead, as well to lead vs the way, as to serue vs for enterpreters.

The

The hoysen men tooke on their way, and when they came to the hill toppe, they made signes of peace vnto them, but the poxe and fearefull Indians fledde with speede, yea being amazed and in great feare to beholde suche a monstrous thing as a hoysen man, beleuyng assuredly, that hoysen and man was one thing incozpozate, but in theyr flight they were sone overtaken, and they yelded themselues, and so were all brought vnto Cortez.

Simplicite.

These men had in their eares and noses bozed holes, with rings of golde hanging thereat, soz so was the vse of Zempoallan: they enformed Cortez that the Citie was neare at hande. Cortez demaunded the cause of their coming thither, they answered, to behold and see so straunge a sight, but why fledde you then (quoth he) soz feare only sir sayde they, of people which he knew not. Then Cortez willed them to put all feare aside, and tolde them that he with his small company wolde goe vnto their Citie to visite their Lord, and to be acquainted with him: the Indians sayde, that the day was farre spent, and that it was late to goe that night to Zempoallan, but if it pleased him they would conduct him to a village whiche stode on the other side of the Riuer and within sight, and although it were but a small village, yet there was reasonable lodging with meate sufficiente for his armie: their counsell seemed well, so they wente to that village, and when they were comen thether, the Indians craued licence to goe & aduertise their Lord how the strangers abode in that place, promising to returne the nexte day with answer. Some of the Indians had licence to do the message, the others abode there, attending and providing for the newes gesses, & in this order they were all lodged and their supper abundantly provided. That night Cortez fortified himselfe as strong as mought be, and the nexte morning came a hundred men laden with Hennes, saying that

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their Lord much reioyced at their comming, and because he was so grosse and brutish, hee came not personally vnto him, but yet notwithstanding he abode in the cittie expecting his comming. Cortez friendly welcomed them, and with that present, hee and his company brake their faste, and then proceeded with his guides in good order, with two fanconets in readinesse, if neede should happen: and from that passage of the Riuer they had a faire way vntill they came to another Riuer, which being likewise waded ouer, they discried Zempoallan, which stood a myle distant from them, all beset with faire Orchards & Gardens, very pleasant to behold: they used alwaies to water them with sluses when they pleased.

There proceeded out of the Towne many persons, to behold and receiue so strange a people vnto them. They came with smiling countenance, and presented vnto them diuers kindes of Floures, and sundry frutes, which none of our men had heretofore sene. These people came without feare among the Spaniards, with this pompe, triumph and ioy, they were receiued into the Citie, which seemed a beautifull Garden: for the trees were so greene and high, that scarcely the houses appeared.

At the Citie gate stood many grane persons of nobilitie, as Magistrates of the Citie, who solemnely welcomed the strangers. Sixe Hoysmen, which hadde gone before the army to discover, returned backe as Cortez was entring into the Cittie, saying, that they had sene a great house and Court, and that the walles were garnished with sluer. Cortez commaunded them to proceed on, willing them not to shewe any token of wonder of any thing that they should see. All the streets were replenished with people, which stood gaping and wondering at the hoyses and strangers. And passing through a great market place, they saw on their right hand, a great wal-

Mens folly
with a great
he.

led

led house made of lyme and stone, with lonpe holes and towers, whited with plaister that shined like siluer, being so well burnished and the sunne glistering vpon it. And that was the thing that the Spaniards thought had bene walles of siluer. I doe beleue that with the imagination and great desire which they had of golde and siluer, al that shined they deemed to be the same mettall.

Within this great house was a long row of lodgings, and on the other side six or seuen Towers one higher than another. They proceeded on, dissimulyng the error of the siluer walles, and followed their guide vntil suche time as they came to the Lozdes lodging, who came forth accompanied with many auncient persons, & better attired then the other Citizens were, with two Gentlemen that ledde him by the armes. They saluted eche other accordyng to the vse of their countreys, and then entred into the pallaice, where certaine principall men conducted Cortez and all his traine to their lodgyng, & Captaine Cortez was lodged in y^e house which had the glistering walles, situated in the markette place, whiche house was sufficient for him and all his companye. And when they were placed, and behelde the walles, they were ashamed of their owne folly: for where they thought those walles had bene adorned with siluer, they found them cleane contrary. Cortez deuised his men, caused his hoxses to be trimmed, & planned his ordinance at his doore, making himself as strong as though he had bene in campe and nere his enemies. And commanded, that none of his men shoulde goe out of the house without his expresse licence vnder paine of death. The officers of the Lozd prepared a plenteous supper for them, and bedding accordyng to their vse.

A vigilant
Captaine.

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The talke that the Lord of Zempoallan had with Cortez.



The next day in the morning came the Lord, to visite Cortez with an honorable company, and presented vnto him many garments wrought of Cotton wolle, according to their fashion, with a knot on y^e shoulder like vnto the Egyptian garments, and certaineiewels of golde that might be worth two thousand Ducates, beseeching both him and his company to recreate themselves and take their resse, and at that present he meante not to trouble him with any matters: And so toke his leaue for that time as he had done the day before, willing him to demaund and call for any thing that he should neede. Cortez gaue him hartie thanks and so departed.

Then came moe Indians in number then there were Spaniardes, with their courses & seruice of meate ready dressed, and many boughes of daintie fruits. In this sorte they were feasted & bāketed fiftē daies most plētionly. The next day following, Cortez sent vnto the Spaniardes certaine olde garments of the Spanishe fashion, and many other trifles, beseeching him to appoynt a day of conference at his owne pallyce: word was sent agayne that he was ready and very well contented. Where vpon Cortez toke with him fiftie of his men all armed, and left the residue at his lodging in a good readinesse, and appoynted an vnder Captaine to gouerne them. The Lord hearing of his comming, came out of his Courte into the streete to receiue him. And hande in hand they entred together into a lowe hall, whiche they vse for the extremitie of heate in that countrey, the ploite that they buyld vpon, is raised a fadome from the grounde, so that they ascende vpon

upon Steppes, and the walles plaistred with verie white lime, their tile is either of straw, or leaues of trees, very beautilfull and straungely wrought, and a good defence against the raine. The Lord and Cortez sate them downe upon three seated stoles, made all of one peece, the Lord commaunded his seruitors to stande aside, and by their interpreters they began to commune of their affayres a great space, in demaunds and answers, because Cortez desired to bee well instructed of the affayres of that countrey, and like wise of that mightie king of Muzezuma.

This Cacike or lord, although he were huge and laden with flesh, yet in his demaundes and questions seemed verie wise. The summe of all Cortez his talke, was to shewe the cause of his comming thither, and who had sent him, euen as he had done in Tauasco to Teudilli, and others.

This Cacike after he had heard Cortez attentiuely, he began a long communication, making his complaint, and opening his griefe in this sort.

Mightie Sir, my Ancestors liued a long time in great peace, libertie and quietnes, but of late yeres my countrey and Citie was destroyed by tyrannie, because the Lordes of Mexico Tenuchtielan with their men of Culhua, did not only vsurpe my citie, but also my lands by force of armes, in such sort that my power could not resist them. And in the beginning those Princes began their vsurpation by way and colour of religion and holinesse, and afterwards with force of armes, and with this title became Lords ouer vs.

And now we seeing our errour, haue thought it too late to preuaile agaynst them, to take away our yoke of seruitude and bondage, although we haue attempted it. And as often as wee haue so done, still the victorie was theirs, and the ouerthrow ours. Powe all such as doe

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submit themselves unto them, are taxed with certaine tributes, and reknowledging them for Lozdes, are defended by them, and esteemed as friends. But if after such submission made, any chaunce to speake agaynst them, or rebell, then they are terribly corrected, yea murdered, and after sacrifice made to the Goddes of warre, called Tezcathipuca and Vezilopuchli of their carniualles, then is their flesh eaten in banquet, & those who remaine alive, doe serue for slaues, yea, and the Fathers, Mothers and childzen, are compelled to labour and toile from the Sunne rising, to the Sunne setting, with confiscation of all their goods and landes. And besides all this crueltie and vituperie, they send their officers and Sergeants, to execute the premises, who without eyther pitie or mercie, many times suffereth them to serue with hunger. And beeing thus cruelly punished of Murezuma, who nowe reigneth in Mexico, who would not suffer to be Vassall willingly to so good a Prince as you enforced me of the Emperour, although it were but onely to be free from such vexation and robbrie, which such a mightie King coulde doe. And with these wordes the teares gushed out of his eyes, and pausing a while, he began to extoll the strength, magnificence and situation of Mexico, planted in a great lake of water: also he exalted the riches, Court, Maiestie, and mightie power of Murezuma. He sayde also howe Tlaxcallan, Huexocinco, and other Provinces thereabout, as also the people called Totonaquez of the Spaniards, were of contrarie opinion to the Mexicans, yea enemies unto them, who had intelligence what had happened in Tawasco. Yea, sir (quoth he) if it please you, I will treat such a compact with this people, that Murezuma with all his power shal not preuaile against vs.

Cortez reioyced in heart to heare this newes, and said

said vnto him. It grisueth me to heare of the euill blage of Mutezuma toward his Countrey and subiects. But I assure you with Gods helpe I will deliuer you, yea, and reuenge all your iniuries, for my comming hither is to take away all euill customes, and to helpe the oppressed, to fauour the prisoner, and comfort the afflicted, and chiefly to abolish tyzannie. And for the good entertainment that I haue receyued at your hands, I remaine yours to doe you any pleasure, and to defend you against your enemies, and the like will I doe for your friends, wherefore I pray you aduertise them thereof, as many as are of our confederacie.

Cortez then toke his leaue, saying that he had bene many dayes there, and that he had great neede to goe visite his shippes, and men, who much desired his returne, and abode in Aquiahuiztlan, where hee meant to sojourne for a certaine season, and from thence day by they might conferre of their affayres. The Lord of Zempoallan sayde, that if it pleased him to abyde with him, hee would gladly accept it, and if his businesse were such that he might not, that then he besought him to remember him.

Then the Lord commaunded eight maydens to be called, who were very well apparelled after their maner, their attire was much like the Morisca fashion, (the one of them was more costly apparelled then the others) and said vnto Cortes, all these maydens which you here see are gentlewomen, noble and rich, and this maiden which is best attyred, is a Ladie of Massals, and my brothers daughter, I doe present her vnto you (meaning that Cortez should marry her) and the others you may bestowe vpon the Gentlemen in your companie, in a token of perpetuall loue and friendship.

Cortez receiued the present with thanks, because hee would

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would not offend the giner thereof. And so departed with their women riding behind them, with many Indian women to wait vpon them, and many Indian men to beare them companie, and to purney all things necessarie.

Things that happened to Cortez in
Chiauiztlan.



The same day that they departed frō Zempoallan, they came to Chiauiztlan, and yet the ships were not arrined. Cortez marvelled at their long tarrying in so short aourney. There was a village within shot of a bargabush, from the rocke called Chiauiztlan, standing vpon a hill. Cortez hauing little to do, went thither with his men, and the Indians of Zempoallan, who certified Cortez that the village was appertayning to a Lord oppressed by Mutezuma. They came to the foote of the hill, without sight of any man of the towne, except two, that Marina vnderstode not, and going by the hill, the horsemen to saouer their horses would alight, because the ascending was cragged and euill way. Cortez commaunded that they should not alight, because the Indians should thinke that there was no place high nor lowe, but that these horses shoulde and coulde come vnto it. So by little and little they came into the towne, and finding no creature there, they feared some decepte, yet approaching further, they met with twelue auncient men, which brought with them an interpreter, who vnderstode the language of Culhua and the speech of that place, which is the language of the Totonaquez, or inhabitants of the Mountaines. These auncient menne declared that the cause of their going out of
the

the towne, was because that they had neuer sene anye such men as the Spaniards were, nor yet heard that any such had passed that way, wherefoze with feare they had fledde from thence. But (quoth they) when the Lord of Zempoallan aduertised vs, how you did hurt no bodye, but rather being a people good and peaceable, then we were well assured who ye were, when we saw you come toward vs. And we are now come vnto you on the behalfe of the Lord, to bring you to your lodging.

Cortez gaue them thanks, and went with them to a certaine place where the Lord was abiding their coming well accompanied: he shewed vnto the Christians great good wil, and marvelled to see those strangers with their long beards.

The Lord toke a little chafingdishe in his hande, and cast into it a certaine gum which saoured in sweete smell much like vnto franksense. And with a sencer he mocked Cortez, with the ceremony they vse their salutations to theyr gods and nobilitie. A strange salutation.

This done they set them down, and Cortez enformed him of the cause of their coming into that country, as he had done in all other places where he had bin. A strange hap.

The Cacike certified Cortez eue as the Lord of Zempoallan had done, but he stood in great feare lest Mutezuma shoulde be offended for receyuing and lodging him with in that towne, without his commaundement, and being in this communicatton, suddenly appeared twentie men entring where they sate, wth certain wands like cudgels in their hands, which did signifie y they were rent gatherers, and in ech other hand, a flip flap of fetters, the Cacike & his company were soze afraide. Cortez demaunded wherefore he so altered himself, he answered, because these twety Indians were collectors of Mutezuma, and that he feared that they would complayne of him, having founde those Christians.

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Christians there, hee feared likewise cruell punishment for the same. Cortes comforted him, saying that Mutezuma was his friend, and that he wold so vse the matter that he should receiue no blame at all, but rather that Mutezuma should giue him thanks for that which he had done: And if Mutezuma did not, he wold not so accept it, that then he wold defend both him and his subiects, for (quoth he) every one of my me is sufficient for a thousand Mexicans, as Mutezuma himselſe was well enformed by the late warres at Potonchan.

Yet for and notwithstanding all this talke, the Lordes and all his folke were in great feare, and meant to arise and to lodge the receiuers. Cortes wold not suffer him, and because (quoth he) thou shalt see what I and my men can do, commaund thy seruants to apprehend and take prisoners these receiuers of Mexico, and I wil abide here with thee, in such sort that Mutezuma with all his power shall not offend thee.

With the courage that hee receiued at these wordes, he commaunded to laie hand vpon the Mexicans, and because they defended themſelues, they were soze beaten, and laide euery one in a severall prison, and bounde them to a great poste, whereat they were tied by the throte, ſete and handes, and being in this soze imprisoned, they asked of Cortes whether they should kill them. Cortes requested that they should not be slaine, but that they might remaine as they were, with good watch, that they might not escape. Then they were brought into a hall in the Spaniards lodging, and were placed round about a good fire, but yet bound hand and ſote with gard of watchmen. Cortes also appointed certaine of his men to watche the hall dooze, and then went to his lodging to supper, where he and his company was wel provided at the Cazikes furniture.

The

The messages sent by Cortez vnto
Mutezuma.



He night being far spent, and the Indians that kept watch being a sleepe, Cortez sent vnto the Spanyards that watched at the hall tawe where the prisoners were, and commanded them to let go two of the prisoners, as secretly as they might, and to bring them vnto him. The Spanyards handled the mat-

Pollicie.

ter so well, that they fulfilled his desire, and brought two of them to Cortes his chamber, who looked vpon them as though he had not knowen them, and willed Aguilar and Marina to demaund who they were, and what they would haue, and why they had bin in prison. They answered, that they were vassals of Mutezuma, and that they had the charge to receiue certaine tributes, that those of that towne and prouince paide vnto their Lord. And also (quoth they) we know not for what cause we are now imprisoned and so cruelly used. We rather wonder to see this new custom and madnesse, for in time past these men were wont to mete vs & receiue vs with great honour & curtesie, shewing all seruice and pleasure. Therfore we thinke that the cause of this alteration is through the fauour of you & your company, who beare the name of immortality. We also feare least our felowes which are in prison shalbe slaine, befoze Mutezuma haue knowledge thereof. Also said they, these barbarous people dwelling in the Mountains, wold be glad to rebell if they found any succor or aide, only to put their Prince to cost and charges, as heretofore they haue done. Therefore they moste humbly besought Cortes that hee should not permit them and their fellowes to bee slaine,

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no; yet to abide in the hands of their enemies wherein he should do singular pleasure to Mutezuma their Lord, and otherwise if they should perish, their Lord would be very sorrowfull that his olde, faithfull, and trustie seruants, should haue such a reward for their good seruice.

A wise man.

Cortez answered that it grieved him much, that Mutezuma his friend should bee misused where hee was, no; yet his seruants enill entreated, and that he would haue as much care ouer them as of his owne, willing them to praise the God of heauen, and to be thankfull vnto him that had commaunded them to be set at libertie, in the grace and friendship of Mutezuma, he certified that in all haste they should bee dispatched for Mexico with certaine businesse, therfore (quoth he) get you to meate, and make you strong to take in hand that iourney, trusting to your fate, least ye should be taken againe to your great perill and daunger, Thus their meate was sone eaten with the great haste they had to be gone.

Cortez brought them out of the towne and gaue them victuall to carry with them. And charged for the libertie and curtesie shewed vnto them, that they should signifie to Mutezuma their Lord, how that hee was his assured friend, and that after he had vnderstanding of his fame, godnes and mightie power, he much desired to serue him, yea and that he helde himselfe happie, to finde himselfe of such a time and season to lose those his seruants, and to shew therein his god will, likewise he would do all that lay in him to preserve the honoz and authoritie of so great a Prince as hee was, and also to defende his subiects, and to looke to his affaires as his owne proper, although his highnesse did little esteeme his friendshippe, as appeared by Teudilli, who departed from him without bidding him farewell, and likewise absenting all the people of the sea coaste, yet this notwithstanding hee would not let

let to doe him seruice at all times when occasion shoulde serue, and to procure by all meanes possible his grace, fauour, and friendship, and that hee was fully perswaded, that his highnesse woulde not refuse his good will and friendship, considering that with his acquaintance, God had done much for him, to meete with a seruaint of the Emperours, for thereby he might know great secrets of holy things, and also receiue great benefites, if then hee wold refuse the same the fault should be his: but yet not withstanding hee trusted in his wisdome, that considering the thing well, he woulde be glad both to see him, and talke with him, and also to be friend and brother with the King of Spaine, in whose happie name, both he & his company were come thither, And as touching his seruants that remained in prison, he woulde so use the matter, that they should escape all perill, promising also to set them at libertie to pleasure him, and that incontinent hee woulde haue done it, but onely because hee woulde not offende the Lord of the Towne, who had friendly entertained him with great curtesie, for which cause hee woulde not presume to controll him in his owne house, nor yet to shewe himselfe unthankfull. The messengers departed with this message very glad and ioyfull, promising to accomplish faithfully the charge committed vnto him.

The confederacie and rebellion done by the
industry of Cortez.



When the Cazike founde missing 8 two prisoners, he blamed much 8 guard or watch, & pretended forthwith to murder those that remained. When came Cortez, and requested that their death should be pardoned, for so much as they

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were but officers obedient to their lord and maister, and according to iustice they had committed no offence, nor yet deserued any torredion in the fact, which was seruice to their King: but for so much as they shall not doe as the other two haue done, deliuer them vnto me, and I will take them to my custodie and charge.

Upon this request the righte prisoners were deliuered vnto Cortez, who sent them aboard his shippes, and there commaunded them to bee put in yrons. The Lozde and his counsellors fearing what might followe, entred into counsell what was best to doe, considering that they certainly believed that the two prisoners which were escaped, would certifie in Mexico the shame and cruell entertainment done vnto them. Some replied that it was iust and requisite to sende vnto Mutezuma his tribute, with other presents, to mitigate his anger, and to excuse them, and accuse the Chyistians, who were the causes of the apprehension of his officers, and to craue pardon of their error and oversight which they had committed as madde men, in dishonour of the maiestie of Mexico. Others answered againe, that it were much better to cast off that yoke of bondage and slauerie, and to giue no longer obedience to the Mexicans, who were both cruel and wicked tyrants, and also considering that now they had on their side those halfe Gods, and invincible hoylemen, saying likewise that they should not want many others their neighbors and borderers to help and succour them.

Diuers opinions
in counsell.

In this sort they resolved themselues fully to rebell, and not to lose so good an occasion, wherevpon they besought Hernando Cortez to be their defender and Capitaine, considering that for his sake they had begun that enterprize, and whether Mutezuma should prepare his armie agaynst them or no, yet they on their part were fully

fully pretended to hold him warre, and to desist from seruitude.

God knoweth how glad Cortez was to heare this matter, for he well wyped that it was the high way to his journeyes ende: yet dissembling the cause, he answered that they would well looke to the thing which they meant to take in hand, because (quoth he) I vnderstande that Mutezuma is a mightie Prince, but if ye will valiantly procede, I will be your Captaine, and safely defende you, for I doe moze esteeme your friendship, then the good will of Mutezuma, which I nothing care for: therefore let mee knowe what number of men of warre ye are able to make. Sir (quoth they) among all our friends wee are able to make a hundreth thousande menne of warre. I like that well (quoth Cortez) wherefore incontinent sende your postes, with aduice vnto all your friendes in league agaynst Mutezuma, and certifie them of this agreement and succour of the Christians, not (quoth he) that I stand in neede of your helpe, for I alone with my companie, are able to stande agaynst those of Culhua, although there were as many moze, but reason required that they shoulde be warned of your pretence, and to be in readinesse for the same, fearing least Mutezuma might send his armie vpon a sudden, and find you vnpreuised.

With this aduice and encouragement of Cortez, and also they themselues being a people headie, and of small consideration, they dispatched incontinent their messengers to al the tolnes and villages of neighbours and friends, aduertising them what they had determined, exalting the straungers aboue the cloudes.

And by this meanes rebelled many Cacikes, and tolnes, and al the whole mountains, so that there was not left any collector or other officer in Mexico in al those borders, with

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with open proclamation of warres against Mutezuma, and all his adherents.

Cortez his intent was on the other side, to stir up these Indians, to get both their goods, willes, and landes, for otherwise, he could not well bring his matter to passe: he only caused the officers of Mutezuma to bee taken prisoners, and to be loosed againe, he sained a great loue to Mutezuma, and stirred his subiects against him, he offered to be their defendour, and left them rebelled, to the intent that they should stand in neede of him.

The foundation of the riche Towne
called Vera Cruz.

At this instant the Fléte was arrived at the port, then went Cortez to visite them, and carried with him many Indians of the Rebels, both of y^e towne, and also of Zempoallan, who did good service to cut downe timber, and to carry stones to the place appointed, for the building of the Citie, named the rich Towne of Vera Cruz, according to the determination, when the officers were appointed for the same, and chosen in S. Iohn de Vihua, and in good order made repertition to the inhabitants of the ground, and plottes to build upon.

They appointed also a place for the high Church, a Market place, a Towne house, a Gayle, stoz houses, a Bay of Warke, to lade or unlade, a butcher row, & other places necessary to the good governement and policie of a Towne. They also dyed out a plot to build the Castle or Fort on, neare the roade in a place convenient, and in this fort began their worke, and their houses made with mudwall, for the earth there is good for that purpose. And every man being thus occupied in this new worke,
came

came from Mixico two kinsmen of Mutezuma, with other foure graue learned menne for Conncelloours, and many seruing men that attended vpon them, as Ambassadors, from Mutezuma, they presented vnto Cortez certayne cloth of Cotton well wouen, and feathers curiously and finely wrought, other peeces of golde and silver wrought, and a Casket of graines of golde, as they were founde in the Pyres not molten, which wayed altogether two thousand & ninetie Castlins, and said y Mutezuma hadde sente him the golde in the Casket, to cure theyr disease, and woulde gladly knowe how they fare, giuing also vnto him most hartie thanks, for losing his two houtholde seruantes, and preserving the others from slaughter, beseeching him to make accompte, that he woulde doe the like in anye affayres of his, desiring him also to procure the libertie of the other eyghtene prisoners: and because those Indians hadde entertayned him well in their houses, he did pardon theyr vyrges, yet notwithstanding he knewe very well that they were suche a kinde of people, that in shorte space they woulde committe some other offences, whereby they might be chastened for all together euen as a Dogge deserueth stripes. And as concerning the rest of his request, theyr Lorde was not well at ease, and also occupied in matters of warre of great importaunce, whereby at that presente, there was no remedie to visist eache other, but in proceesse of time his desire shoulde be accomplished.

Cortez welcommed them friendly and ioyfully, and also lodged them in Cottages nere vnto the water side, and sent forthwith for the Lorde of Chiautzlan, that had rebelled, who came at his commandement. Cortez sayd vnto him, lo see what troth I haue vsed with thee, for Mutezuma dareth not to send any army, no nor yet displease anye

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person where I am. Therefore from this daye forwarde you and all your lignage and friends maye accompt your selues free and exempt from the seruitude of Mexico, without rendering the tributes accustomed. He requested to set at libertie the prisoners, and to ressoze them to the Ambassadors of Mutezuma. This Cazike willed Cortes, to doe what pleased him, for saide he, euen as we haue chosen you for oure Captaine, we will not excede one iote of your commaundements: wherevpon hee returned home to his towne, and the Ambassadors toward Mexico, all pleased and content.

Some same flew abroade, blazing that Mutezuma feared the Christians, wherevpon all the Totonagues prepared themselves for the warres, taking cleane awaie from Mexico, their tribute and obedience.

The Ambassadors departed from Cortes with the prisoners, and manie other things that were given them, of linnen, wollen, skinnes, glasse, and yron, being greatly amazed at the things which they had seene.

How Cortez tooke by force of armes Tizapanfinca.



Not long after y these things had hapened, the Indians of Zempoallan sent vnto Cortez, to desire him of succor against y gariso of Culhua, which Mutezuma maintained in Tizapanfinca, who did greatly annoy the, in spoiling, burning, and destroying their cozne in the fields, and slew their husbandmen, and tooke many prisoners. The Towne of Tizapanfinca, doth confine with the Totonaguez and with y ground of Zempoallan, and is a good strong Towne, situated nere

the west India.

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neere the River, and hath a fort standing vpon a high rocke. And because this towne was strong, and planted among them who were alwayes seditious and rebelles, Mutezuma placed there his garrison, who seeing the officers of receyvers and auditors come flying thither for helpe, being persecuted of the rebels, they went out to pacifie the rebellion, and for to chasten them, they burned and destroyed whatsoeuer they found, and also had taken many prisoners.

Cortez hearing this newes, departed toward Zempoalan, and from thence in two dayes iourney with a great army of Indians Tizapanfinca, which stood eight leagues and more from that citie.

The garrison of Culhua came into the field, thinking to haue had battell onely with those of Zempoalan, but when they sawe the horsemen, and the bearded men, they lost their courage, and beganne to flie as fast as they might possible: their succour being neere, they were sone in holde: they would haue entred into their Castell, but for the swiftnesse of the horses which stoppe'd their way.

The valiant
courage of
Cortez.

And when the horses could not ascend vpon the fort, Cortez alighted with other foure of his men, and among the preasse of the townesmen got into the fort: and being within, they kept the doore till their companie came with many friends, vnto whom he deliuered the fort & towne, desiring to doe no hurt to the inhabitants, but to suffer them to depart freely without weapon and standard. It was a new world to those Indians, who did fulfill Cortez his commaundement in all poynts. This done, Cortez returned againe to the sea coast, by the same way which he had come.

This was the first victorie that Cortez had among the subjects of Mutezuma, whereby all the Spoutaynes

remained

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remained free from the vexations of the Mexicans, and all our men with great fame and reputation, as well among their friends, as among their enemies, in so much that afterwarde when any neede did happen among the Indians, they wold immediately send vnto Cortez for one of his men, saying, that one man alone of the Chryistians, was sufficient to be theyr Capitaine and securitie.

This was a good beginning for the presence of Cortez. Some when hee came to Vera Cruz with his company triumphantly, he founde there Francisco de Salzedo, who was come with his caruell whiche he had boughte of Alſo Caallero, a dweller in Saint Iames de Cuba, and was left there to be grounde and dyessed at his departure from thence. He brought with him .70. Spanyardes, and nine Horses and Mares, wherewith they all maruelously reioyced.

The presents that Cortez sent to the
Emperour for his fife.



Cortez made great hast in building up the new towne and the Castle, because the Citizens and souldiers might haue succoure against the winde and raynes, and committie of household, and likewise to be assured of defence against enemies if neede should happen, pretending likewise withall expedition, to enter within the land toward Mexico, to visit Mutezuma, and to leave in that new towne all thing in good order, he finished many things, touching as well the peace as the warre.

Was commaunded to bee brought a lande out of his ships all the armour and other furniture for the warres, with the Merchandise, victuall, and other provision, and to deliuer it to the rulers of the newe Cittie, according to his promise. He also signified vnto all his company that it was mete and conuenient, to sende relation to the King of all their proceedings and dealings in that countrey, with demonstration of Golde and Siluer there founde.

And (quoth he) to deal thus lightly in this case, it is necessary to diuide equally our treasure, to euery man his portion, according to the vse of the warres, the diuision being made, then first and principally lette vs deduct the Kings fifth part. And for the better performance thereof, I haue named and appoynt Alonso de Anila Treasurer for the King, and also I haue elect Gonfalo Mexia Treasurer of the armie.

All the newe Magistrates ratified his sayings, and allowed his discretion and wisdome, praising the election of the new officers as men most mete for such an office, and besought them to accept their charge.

This diligence done, he commaunded to bring forth into the market place all the goods and treasure whiche they had gotten, as well cloath of Cotton, Feathers, Golde, and Plate, which mought amount vnto in value the summe of 22000. Ducates: The same he caused to be deliuered vnto the newe elected Treasurers by account, requesting the whole councel of the Cittie that they should make diuision thereof. The counsellours and communalte replied, saying: Sir, here is nothing to diuide, for deducting the fifth part which appertaineth to the King, all the rest shall be to make payment for the furniture which you prepared for this voyage, and you being satisfied, then the ships, munition and furniture, shall serue in common

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Liberalitie
of Cortez.

for vs all; beseeching him with one assent to take all the treasure; and to sende vnto the Kings Quaire his portion of fiftie part, euen as should be the most contentment vnto him.

Cortez replied and saide; that since hereafter should serue to pay him according to their gentles offer: But for this present time my louing fellowes (quoth he) I will receiue no more then the share or portion that apperteyneth vnto my office of generall Captaine, and all the rest shall be for the Gentlemen of my company, where with ye may be glad to make payment of your debts, which ye ought when ye made your prouision to come with me on this voyage.

And where I haue appointed certain things to send to the King, of more value then his fift part, it might please them; for as much as they were such things as could not be well diuided, and like wise the first fruite of that Conquest, freely to giue him libertie to vse his discretion in that onely poynt. They all in generall graunted to his request, whereupon he toke out of the stocke, these things following.

Inuentarie.



First the two wheelles of golde and silver, which Heudilli presented vnto him on the behalfe of Mutezuma.

A collar of gold of eight peces, whereat hanged a hundred and foure score and three little Emeralbes, and two and thirtie little redde stones, like vnto Rubies,

the west India.

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bles of small balie : there hanged at the same collar se-
uen and twentie litle belles of golde, and certain heads
of pearle.

Another collar of foure doubled twisse, with a hundredth
and two Rubies, and a hundredth and seuen tie and two
Emeraldes, and tenne good pearles well sette, and for
border or fringe five and twentie belles of golde : both
those collars were beautifull to behold, and had many
other fine things wrought in them, then is here decla-
red.

Many graynes of golde of the bignesse of a peale, euen as
they were founde.

A Casket of graynes of golde of the same sozte.

A Helmet of wodde champed with golde and besette
with stones, and the beuer fine and twentie belles
of golde, and upon the toppe a gréne birde, with his
eyes, beake, and feete of golde.

A sallet of planches of golde, and belles rounde aboute it,
decked with stone.

A bracelet of golde of small tweight.

A rodde like vnto a roiall Drepter, with two rings of
golde hanging thereat, garnished with pearle.

Four sozkes with thre shephokes at ech, couered with
feathers of sundry colours.

Many payres of shoes made of Deere skinner, sowd with
golde threede, and in the soales, were sette certaine
stones of colour white and blew, which shined
faire.

One paire of Letherne shoes of diuers colours, garnished
with gold, silver, and pearle.

A Target of wood couered with leather, be set round a-
bout with belles of Latton, and the bolle in the midst
was

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was planked with gold, and there was engraued vpon the same Vitilopuchli, God of the warres, and also foure heads set crosse wise, which heades were of a Lion, a Tigre, an Eagle, and an Owle, very liuely made with feathers.

Many skinnos of beast and soule, curried and dyessed in their feathers and in haire.

Foure and twentie targets of gold feathers, and set with pearle, both curious and gallant to behold.

Fine targets of feathers and silver.

Foure fishes of gold well wrought.

Two birds called Anades, and other birds of gold.

Certaine Patches and a rod of latten.

Diners looking glasses garnished with gold.

Many Byters and Crownes of gold & feathers, wrought of many colours, beset with pearle and stons.

Many faire feathers of sundry colours.

Many tusses of feathers adozned with silver and gold.

A garment like a coape of cotten, woven of sundrie colours, and in the middelt a blacke whele made of feathers.

Many Surplices, vestments, palles, frontals and ornaments of Idols, Altars and Temples.

Many couerlets of cotten, of diuerse colours, which they used like vnto vnshorne velvet.

Many Shirtes, Jackettes, headclothes, and other naperie.

Many Carpets and hangings of cotten.

All these things were moze beautiful then rich, althogh the wheles were very rich, the workmanship of all the rest, was moze worth then the thing it selfe. The colours of the cloth of cotten wool was exceeding fine, and the feathers naturall.

The pounced worke in gold and silver did excede our gold,

goldsmiths, of which things we will write in an other place. They ioyned with this present certaine Indian bookes of figures which serue to their vse for letters: these bookes are folden like vnto clothes, and written on both sides. Some of these bookes were made of cotton & glew, and others were made of leaues of a certaine tree called spelt; which serue for their paper, a thing straunge to behold.

Strange paper

At that time the Indians of Zempoallan had many prisoners to sacrifice: Cortez demanded them to send vnto the Emperour, but the Indians desired him to pardon them, for if we so do (quoth they) we shall offend our gods, who will take away our coine, and children from vs, yea, and also our liues in so doing.

Yet notwithstanding, Cortez tooke foure of them, and two women which were all yong and lustie.

But it was verie strange to see those that should be sacrificed, how they were trimmed and deckt with feathers, and went dauncing through the Citie, asking almes for their sacrifice & death. It was also strange to see the offerings that were giuen them. They had at their ears hanging, rings of gold beset with Turky stone, and likewise other rings at their lips, which shewed their teeth bare, a grieously sight to see, but yet esteemed among them a thing beautifull.

Letters from the armie and Magistrates of the new towne, directed to the Emperour.



When this present and fift part was layde aside for the king, Cortez required his magistrates to name and appoint two attornies, to carry the Emperors portion vnto Spaine. And that he for his part would giue

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gine vnto them his full power, and letter of attourney, with also one of the best Shippes for that voyage.

The Councell of the newe Towne chose Alonso Fernandez Portocarero, and Francisco de Monteio for that iourney: whereof Cortes was herie glad, and gaue them Antonio de Alominos for their pilot, with gold and plate sufficient for turne and returne of the voyage. Cortez gaue them instructions what they shoulde doe particularly for him in the Court of Spaine, as also in Ciuill, and the towne where he was borne. He sent to his Father and Mother certaine money, with newes of his prosperitie: hee sent also with them the ordinaunces and actes instituted, and wrote by them a large Letter to the Emperour, in the which hee gaue full advertisement of all things, which hadde passed from the tyme of his departure from the Ilande of Cuba, vntill that day, and of the discoyde betwene him and James Velasques, and of their great trauaile and paines, with the great good will which they all bare vnto his royall seruice: hee certified likewise of the riches of that Countrey, with the Paieslie and power of Mutezuma.

Hee offered to bring in subiection vnto his royall Crowne and State of Castill, all that Empire, and to winne also the great Citie of Mexico, and to bring that mightie king Mutezuma to his handes quicke or dead. Beseeching the Emperours Paieslie to haue him in remembrance when offices and provisions shoulde be sent vnto that newe Spaine lately discovered at his great costes, and in recompence of his paines and trauell.

The Councell and Magistrates of Vera Cruz wrote also

also two Letters to the Emperour, the one was touching the successe of their proceedings in his royall service. In that Letter, went onely the Aldermens firmes, and Judges.

The other Letter was firmed by the generalitie and chiefest of the armie, the contents whereof was in substance, that they should holde and keepe that towne and Countrey wanne, in his royall name, or end their lives in the quarrell, if his Maiestie did not otherwise determine.

A good protestation.

They also most humbly besought him, that the government thereof, and of all that hereafter should be conquered, might be given to Hernando Cortez their guide, generall Captaine, and chiefe Justice by them elect and chosen, saying, that wel he had deserved the same, for that he alone spent more then the whole armie upon that journey. And that it might please his maiesty to confirm that, which they generally of free will had done for their owne safegard and securitie, in the name of his royall Maiestie.

And if by chaunce his Maiestie had already given the sayde office of gouvernement to any other person, that it might please him to reuoke it.

For so should it be expedient for his service, and quietnesse of the countrey. And thereby might be excused, rumours, slaunders, perils, and slaughters, that might ensue, if any other should governe and rule as Captaine generall.

And moreover, they besought his Maiestie to graunt them aunswere with brysitie, and good dispatch of their Attourneys, who departed from the port of Aguihuistlan in a reasonable ship, the twentieth five of Julie.

Anno. 1519.

The Conquest of

They touched by the way at Marien a port of Cuba, declaring that they went to Hauana: they passed through the channell of Bahama without disturbance, and sayled with a prosperous winde, till they arrived in Spaine.

The cause why the generalltie had written these letters was, suspecting Iames Velasques, who had friends and great fauour in the Court and counsell of Indians, and also some secret friends in Cortes his campe. For Francisco Salzeda brought newes that Iames Velasques had already obtained a grant of the Emperour for the gouernment of that land, by the meanes of one Bonito Martinez going into Spaine. And although they knew not the certainty thereof, yet it was most true, as shall appeare in another place.

An vprore among the souldiers agaynst
Cortes, and the punishment
for the same.



There were some in the host that murmured against the election of Cortes, for thereby was excluded Iames Velasques, unto whom they bare good will.

Some were Velasques friends, and other some his kinsfolks, who letted not to say openly that Cortez by flatterie, subtiltie and gifts, had gotten and obtained his purpose.

And that the dissimulation in making him selfe to bee entreated and prayed to accept that charge and office, was a thing craftily feigned, whereby such election coulde not bee of any value, and chieflie without any such authoritie of the Ierome friers dame, who

who ruled and gouerned the Indians as chief presidents: how muche moze they hadde newes that Iames Velasques had already obtained the gouernement of that land, and Yucatan. Then Cortez began to vnderstand in those matters, and made inforzation who had rayled by this murderation, and being knowne, he apprehended the chiefest, and sent them prisoners aboarde his Ship: and to mollifie their wrath, he shortly released them againe, the which afterwards was cause of moze mischief, for these his enemies would haue fledde with a Mergantime and killed the maister, pretending to flye vnto the Ilande of Cuba, for to aduertise Iames Velasques of the great presēt Mischief. sent vnto the Emperour, to the intent it shoulde be taken from their Attozners passing nere the port of Hauana, with all the letters and relations of their businesse, because the Emperour shoulde not see it, to conceiue well of their proceedings. Then Cortez began to be agréened in earnest, and apprehended diuers of them, whose confessions being taken, the matter was manifestly known to be true, and therevpon accoꝝding to the proceſſe, hee condemned those that were most culpable, and caused forthwith two of them to be hanged, who were Iohn Eucudero, and Iames Cermenio pilot, and condemned Gonſalo de Vmbria, and Alonso Penate to be whipped, & incontinent execution was done, all the rest being pardoned. Two hanged,
and two whipped.

With this correction Cortez was moze feared, and also esteemed, than befoze he was, for certainly if he hadde bled gentlenesse, he shoulde neuer haue tamed them, yea and if he had not looked to them in time, he had bene spoiled: for their pretence was, to haue aduertised Iames Velasques, who would haue prevented them of their Shippes and present, and yet after wards he sente a Caruell after the said Ship, although it were too late.

The Conquest of

Cortez caused all his shippes to be sunke, and broken vpon the shore, a most worthy fact.



Cortez purposed to go vnto Mexico, and would not giue his souldiers to vnderstand it, because they should not refuse the iourney, through the talke of Teudilli, especially hearing that citie of Mexico was situated vpon water, which they imagined to be exceeding strong, as in effect it was: & to the

A famous fact.

intent that they should all followe him, although against their willes, he determined to spoile all his ships, which was a strange case, perillous, and a great losse. His intent thoroughly weyed, he little esteemed the losse of his ships to withstand his men from disturbance of his enterprise, for doubtlesse they would haue staied him, yea and rebelled, if they had knowen his mind and pretended purpose. He did secretly accorde with one of the maisters of his Fleet in the night season to boze holes in them, that thereby they might sinke, without any remedie to recover them againe.

Also he requested the other Maisters and Pilotes to publish among the army, that the ships were so rotten and woymeaten, that they were not fit to go to sea againe, and that they should, when they chanced to espie him and many of his souldiers together, come and certifie him openly of the estate and force of the said ships, because that afterwarde they should not lay any fault to his charge.

According to this instruction, the Pilotes and maisters did accomplishe his commandement: for shortly after, they espied him among a flocke of his companie, and then came they vnto him, saying: Sir, your nauie is not

not to make anie moe voyages, by reason that they are all leake, and spoiled, rotten, and woymeaten, wherefoze according to our due tie, we do certifie you thereof, to provide therein as you shall see cause. All the souldiers gaue credite to their tale, because the ships had been there moze than thre monethes. And after long talke about the matter, Cortes commaunded that they shoulde profite themselues by them the best that they might, and as for shippes, let them sinke or runne a shoze, saving great sorowe for so great a losse, and want of such provision. And in this manner they let runne a shoze full of the best shippes, saving their Ordnance, Wittailles, Sailes, Cables, Ankers, Ropes, and all other tackle: and shortly after they spoiled other foure vessels, but that was done with some difficultie, because they beganne to surmise the intent of Cortes, and beganne openly to say, Cortes meant to carrie them to the slaughter house. He then pacified them with gentle wordes, saying, what is hee that will refuse the warres in so riche a Countrey? if there bee any of you that will leaue my companie, he or they may (if it please them) returne to Cuba in a Shippe that yet remaineth. And this he spake, to knowe how many were the cowardes, meaning in time of neede to haue no trust or confidence in them. Then diuers shamelesse persons demaunded licence to returne to Cuba, but they were suche as loned no warres. There were also others that said nothing, who woulde gladly haue returned, seeing the greatnesse of the Countrey, and the multitude of the people, but yet they were ashamed to shewe cowardise openly.

Cortes knowing his souldiers mindes, commanded the other Ship to be sunke, so that then they were all without hope to go out of that Countrey at that time, exalting
and

The Conquest of

and praising the noble minde of Cortez shewed in that worthy fact. Certainly it was a deede necessary for the present time, and done by the iudgement of a stout Captaine, although hee lost much by his shippes, and abode without succour of the sea. There are fewe of these examples, which are not of valiant personages, as was Ormiez Barbaroza with the cut arme, who a few yeares past brake seven Gallies and Foyles, to winne thereby Bugia, as largely I haue wrote thereof in battailes of the sea in our dayes.

How the inhabitants of Zempoallan brake
downe their Idolles.

Every day seemed long to Cortez, with the desire to see Mutezuma. Hee now beganne to publish openly his iourney and departure, and chose out of the bodie of his hoste a hundreth and fiftie men, which hee thought sufficient to leaue for safegarde of the newe towne and fort, which was almost finished, and appointed Pedro de Hircio their Captaine, leauing with them two hostes, and two small peeces of Ordnance, with many Indians to serue them, and fiftie Townes rounde about them in faithfull friendship and league, out of the which Townes they might alwayes haue at their neede fiftie thousande men of warre: and he departed with the residue of his Spanyardes towardes Zempoallan, which might bee foure leagues from thence, and was scarcely come to the Towne, when newes was brought him that foure shippes of Francisco Garray sayled along his coast, and were in sight of Vera Cruz. With this newes he returned incontinent with a hundreth of his men, suspecting euill of those shippes. At his comming to Vera Cruz,

Newes for
Cortez.

Cruz, his Captaine there enquired him how he had gone
himselfe to know what they were, and from whence they
came, and what they would, but coulde speake with none
of them, Cortez being informed both the yroards at anchor,
take Captaine Hircio, and certaine of his company to
expect their coming ashore, suspecting them in the, be-
cause they made of signs off, being by signes and tokens
willed to come into the Harbor, Cortez having wandered
neare thre miles, mette with thre Spaniards whiche
came from the shippes, the one of them saide that he was
a Solary, and the other two were to serve for witnesses
in their affaires, which was, to aske and notifie certaine
writings, whiche they shewed not, and also to require
Cortez by vertue of the same, to come and make repartiti-
on of that countray with Captaine Garay their generall, for
their said Captaine, patented that conquest (as first dis-
coverer of the same,) certifying moreover that he was
determined to inhabite the entie league distant from that
place thre leagues, neare unto Nahuan, whiche now is
called Ameria, Cortez answered, that they should returne
unto their shippes, and to will their Captaine to come
to Vera Cruz with his suite, and there they would con-
mune together aboute his coming, and if he shoulde
morde of any thing it should be provided, And if it were
(as they reported) that he was come on the things as
saide, he would gladly send out his porceings, conde-
ring that he and all his were there in service of his high-
nesse, how much more being all of one nation.

They answered, that in no wise the capitaine nor none
of his armye shoulde come ashore, nay yet come to Vera Cruz
Cortes was with this answer Cortez understood his man-
ner, and layde hold of them, and went and placed himselfe
in ambush behind a little hill at hand, whiche shoulde
right oned against the shippes, being there some set, and

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kept there that night till day approached, and the morning
sate spent, hoping that Garay his Pilote or kind of his
company would come afoze, meaning likewise to appre-
hend them, for to be certified what course they had made,
and what hurt they had done, and finding them guiltie,
to send them prisoners into Spaine, likewise he desired to
know whether they had spoken with any of the
Indians, and seeing they came not a land his indignation was
the greater.

A wise prac-
tise.

Cortez commaunded three of his men to chaunge a pa-
rell with the three messengers that came from Garay,
and this done, caused them to goe to the sea side, standing
with cloaks, and calling for the shippe, wrote to those of
the shippen thought by their apparel that they were their
owne men, and came with a dozen persons in the skiffe,
with Crossebowes and Handgunnes. Then Cortez his
men which were cloathed in other mens garments, blew
themselves among bushes, as who would say, they were
gone into the shadowe, so; to be from the great feare of
the shot, being at that time high none, and because they
should not be knowne.

The spariners of the skiffe set a lande two men with
Hargabushes, and other two men with Crossebowes, and
an Indian who went straightway to the bushes, thinking
to find their fellows. Then kept forth Cortez and caught
them before they could gette aboard the skiffe, although
they meant to have defended themselves, so that one of
them who was a Pilote, having his Hargabush ready
charged, & would have shot at captain Hircio, and otherwise
if his match and powder had bene good he had slain him.
When the generall aboard the ships perceived this deceit,
would abide no longer, & commaunded to make saile, not fa-
rying for his skiffe. By these seven men taken at that time
Cortez was satisfied, & also certified how captain Garay had
sayled

sorted along the coast seeking Florida, and arrived in a river, the King of that province was called Panuco, where they founde little golde, bartering aboard their shippes, all their golde passed not three thousand Castellins, but in exchange of things of small value, nothing contented Garay on that voyage, because the quantitie of golde was small, and not fine.

With this newes Cortez returned to Zempoallan with his men which he brought in his company: and there concluded and fully agreed with those Indians, to pull downe their Idols & Sepulchres of their Azike, which they did reverence as Gods, perswading them to worship the God of heauen. And after this doctrine their league of friendship was effectually established, and with other townes adioyning against Mutezuma. Those Indians gave unto him gages to bee alwaies faithfull of word and promise, and offered unto him as many men fit for warre and service as he wold require. Cortez received the gages which were of the principallest persons of the townes, as Mamex Teuch, & Tamali, he took also a thousand Tamemes, that is to say, men that are carriers, who ordinarily take his burden upon his backe which is halfe a hundred weight, and those fellowses followe the campe with their bag and baggage: These men serued for boyles to draine the ordinance, and to carry other munition and viduals.

How Olintec exalted the mightie power
of Mutezuma.

Cortez departed from Zempoallan, leaving y^e towne named Suilla, toward Mexico, the sixtenth day of August of the same yeare, with 400 Spaniards and 15 boyles, & 6 peeces of ordinance, & 1300 Indians with the carriers & men of Cuba. And whē Cortez departed frō
Zempoallan,

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Zempoallan, he had not one vassall of Mutezuma in his campe, to lead them the way toward Mexico, for al were fiedde, seeing the he to leaue; or else by commaundement of their Lord, the Indians of Zempoallan knew not well the way.

The first three daies iourney the army passed through country of their friends, and were lovingly receiued and lodged, especially in Xalapan. The fourth day they came to Sicuchimat, which is a strong place situated on a hill side very craggy, and the way to passe thereunto is made with force of mans hande as a stazze. And if the inhabitants thereof would haue resisted the entrance, with great difficultie both footemen & horsemen might haue entered the towne, but as afterwards appeared, they were commaunded by Mutezuma to lodge them and also to honour them. The rulers of that towne saide to Cortez, that for as muche as he wente to visite their Prince Mutezuma, he should assure himselfe that they were and would be his friends. His towne hath many villages and farmes beneath in the playne, for Mutezuma was alwaies provided there of 5000. men of warre.

Cortez gave great thanks to the Lord for his curtesie and good entertainment, muche esteeming the good will of his Lord Mutezuma, and so departed from thence, and wente to passe ouer a mountaine very high, the passage whereof he named Nombre de dios, because it was the first that he had passed, being so asperous and highe, that there is none suche in all Spaine, for it contained directly by right three leagues, and hath in many places grapes and trees to it home. And descending towne on the other side of that hill, they came to a towne called Tehuixtucap, which is a forte and friende to Mutezuma, where our army was receiued and entertained as in the other towne befores.

And

And from thence he travelled three dayes in a countrey inhabitable; and passed some needlines of hunger, & much more of thirst because all the water that they founde was saltish; and many of his men for want of other, dranke thereof, wherof they fell into sickness: and suddenly fell a marvellous paine, with great colde, which increased their griefe; and the Indians of that company thought there to end their lives; & some of the Indians of Cuba died there through sickness, not being accustomed to so cold a countrey. After the fourth journey of euill way, they ascended up another hill, and vpon the top thereof, (to their iudgement) they founde a goodly lande. There was of wood roadside, neare to a little towne of houses: they named that place the port of wood: and having passed two leagues from the port of wood, they founde the Countrey barren, and poore, but soon after the armie came to a place which they named white Castell, because the Lords house was of stone verie white and newe, and the best that they had seene in all that countrey, and so curiously wrought, that they marvelled thereat: that towne in their language is called Zactlan, and the valley nere vnto it is named Zacam, and the Lords name is Olintecl, who receiued Cortez honorable, and provided for him and his company abundantly, being so commanded by Mutezuma, as he reported afterwarde.

And in token that he had receiued that commendation from his Lord, he commanded fiftie men to be sacrificed for ioy, whose blood they sate new and fresh. The Countrey men of that towne carried the Spaniards on their shouldres, on such beastes as we carry dead men to Church. Cortez entreated them (by his interpreters) of the cause of his coming into that countrey, as he had used in other places, and demanded together the Lord of this towne were tributary to Mutezuma. This Cacique being amazed

A strange ioy.

The Conquest of

at his question answered, saying: That is he that is not
 either slave or vassall to the great Mutezuma. Then Cortez
 certified him, who and what the Emperour king of
 Spaine was, willing him to be his friend and seruitor;
 and further enquired if he had any gold to send him some.
 This Cazike answered that he would do nothing without
 the commandement of his Royde, nor yet sende his king
 any gold although he had enough. Cortez dissuaded the
 matter, and helpe his peace, yet by and by he desired to
 knowe the Spaiesie and mightie power of Mutezuma,
 the Cazik, answered, that Mutezuma was Royde of the
 whole Mayne, and that he had thirtie Massals who were
 able to make 2.00000. men of warre, the one of them be
 all certified that he sacrificed 20000. men yearly to his
 Goddes: And also his dwelling was in the most beauti-
 fullest and strongest cite of all that ever was inhabited,
 likewise (quoth he) his house and courts, is most greete,
 noble, and replenished with Gentlemen, his riches incre-
 dible, and his charges excessive. And truly therein he
 laide the very troth, excepte in the sacrifice wherein he
 somethiing enlarged, although the slaughter of men for sa-
 crifice in euery temple was very great, yea and some hold
 opinion, that some yeres were sacrificed above 50000.
 men. Being in this conuersatio came two Gentlemen of
 that valley to see the Spaniardes, and eche of them pre-
 sented vnto Cortez foure women slaves, & certaine collers
 of golde of small price. Olonelc although he was vassall
 to Mutezuma, was a greate Royde, and had 20000. vas-
 sals, and thirtie wiues altogether in his house, beside a
 hundred other women that attended vpon them. And had
 for his gard a household 2000. persons, his towne was
 great, & had 12 temples in it, & eche temple many idolls of
 stone of diuers fashions, before whom they sacrificed men,
 boucs, quailles, & other things wth perfumes & great vene-
 ration.

nation. In this place and terrhoyle, Mutezuma had 3000
souldiers in garrison; and ordinarily postes from thence
to Mexico. Untill this time, Cortes had most ample in-
formation the might and power of Mutezuma, yet and
though many incontinentes, difficulties, feare, and such
like, did represent it to him, yett him in his iourney to Mexi-
co, which perhaps would haue wonne some valiant per-
son; yett he showed not one like browefauld; having
heard first a report of that mighty Prince; but rather
his desire was so much the more to see him.

Considering now that he should passe through Tax-
callon, to goe to Mexico, Tlaxcallon being a great strong
Cittie, and warlike people, he dispatched foure Zempoal-
lanezes to the Lords and Captaines of that Cittie, on the
behalf of Zempoallan and his owne, offering vnto them
his friendship and fauour, giuing them to vnderstande,
that those fewe Christians woulde come vnto their Cittie
to serue them, desiring the to accept the same, thinking af-
surely that those of Tlaxcallon would haue done with
him as the Zempoallanezes had don, which were both good
and faithfull, who had alwaies vsed truth with him, euen
so he thought that now he mought credit the, for they had
enformed him, that the Tlaxcaltecas were their friends,
and so would be his, considering that they were utter e-
nemies to Mutezuma, and willingly would goe with him
to the siege of Mexico, with desire of libertie, and to re-
venge olde iniuries and griefes, which they had suffer-
ed many yeares before of the people of Culhua. Cortez
refreshed himselfe in Zactlan five daies, where is a fresh
riuer, and quiet folke, pulling downe the Woods, and plac-
ed a remembrance of Chylserincised, as hee had done
in all the towncs that he had passed.

He toke his leave of Olinthie, leaving him wel pleased,
went to a towne a leagues frō thence along the riuer side,
where

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whereof was lord Izacmixelian one of the Gentlemen who had given him the banner and collers of gold.

At his salute standeth in a plain ground of two leagues compass, which is replenished with so many houses as doth seeme to touch one another. In that way that our army passed, and the stone it selfe with containing fire, there lay hundredes of stones, one on a hill, and on the one side thereof is the houses built with a strong sort, being the best yet seen in those parties. Walled with good stone with burbican and deepe ditch. Where Cortez rested him selfe three dayes, abiding the foure messengers which he sent from Zaclotan, to knowe the answer that should be brought.

The first encounter that Cortez had with the

men of Tlaxcallan, and the



After seeing the long tarrying of the messengers, he departed to Zaclotan without any intelligence from Tlaxcallan. Our camp

had not marched much after their departure from that place, but they came to a

great circuit of stone made without lime

or mortar, being a fadom and a halfe high, and twelve fathoms broad, with large holes, to shoot at; that wall crossed once

all the valley, from one mountain to another, and but one

single entrance or gate, in the which the one wall came

back against the other, and the way there was fourtie

paces broad, in such sort that it was one wall and position

passage, if they had bin there in defence. Cortez sawe

then the cause of their circuit, and who had built it; Izacmixelian that went to heare him, came forth, and

him that it was but a division from their country, and

Tlaxcallan, and that their another king had made the same

to.

A strange wall.

the west India.

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to disturbe the entraunce of the Claxcaltecas in time of warre, who came to robbe and murther them, because of the friendship betwixte them and Mutezuma, whose fals they were:

That strange and costly wall, seemed a thing of great maiesie to our Spaniards, and moze superfluous then profitable, yet they suspected that the Traxcaltecas were ballant warriors, who had suche defence made against them. And as Cortez and his army stode beholding this worke, Iztacmixtlitan thought he had bin afraide to procede forward, and prayed him (so much as he was his Lozdes friende) not to passe that way, noz yet through the Countrey of Tlaxcallan, so much as he wente to visit his maister, for (quoth he) if they knowe you to be my Lozdes friende, they will seeke youre displeasure, as they haue done to others, and I will prouide you of guides to leade you continually through the dominion of Mutezuma, where you shall be well receiued and prouided, until you come to Mexico.

But Mamexi and the others of Zempoallan willed him to refuse that offer and counsell in any wise, alleadging that it was an onely pretence to separate them from the friendship of that prouince, whose people were good, honorable, and valiant, and that Iztacmixtlitans perswasion was, to prohibite theyr helpe and succours against Mutezuma, willing him earnestly to giue no credite unto his sayings, for he and his allies are false Traytors, and meante to bring him into some snare, where they might kill both him and his company, and fede vpon their fleshe.

Cortez for a space was amazed at the talke of one and the other, but in conclusion he accepted the counsell of Mamexi, for that he hadde conceived a better opinion of the Zempoallanezes his allyed friends, than of the others.

The Conquest of

thers. And setting all feare aside, hee tooke the way to Tlaxcallon, bidding Iztacmixtlitan farwell, & with thre hundred souldiers on a ranke, he entered the way in the wall, and proceeded in god order all the way forwarde, carrying the Ordinance readie charged, and hee himselfe the leader of all his army, yea and sometimes he would be halfe a league befoze them, to discouer and make the way plaine.

And hauing gone the space of thre leagues from that circuite, he commaunded his souldiers to make haste, because it was some what late, and hee with his horsemen went to descric the way forwarde, who ascending vp a hill, two of the foremost horsemen mette with fiftene Indians armed with Swords and Targets and tusses of feathers, which they vse to weare in the warres. These fiftene were spies, and when they sawe the Horsemen, they beganne to die with feare, or else to giue aduice.

Then approached Cortes with other thre horsemen, calling to them to stay, but by no meanes they would abide: then five horsemen ranne after them, and ouertooke them, and ioyned all togither, with determination rather to die then to yelde, shewing them signes to stand still, yet the horsemen comming to laie handes on them, they prepared themselues to battayle, and fought, desending themselues for a while. In this fight the Indians slew two of the horsemen, and as the Spanyards doe witnesse, at two blowes they cutte off a horse head, byble and all. Then came the rest of the horsemen, and the Armie approached, for there were in sight neare fiftie thousand Indians in god order, to succoure their fiftene fighting menne, but they came too late for that purpose, for they were all slaine with the anger that was taken for the killing of the two horsemen.

horses, and woulde not render themselves in time : yet notwithstanding their fellows sought, untill they espyed oure Armie coming and the Ordinance, then they returned, leauyng the fiede to oure menne, but our horsemenne followed them, and slewe about thre score and tenn persons of them, without receiuing any hurt.

¶ His done, the Indians sente vnto Cortez two of the foure messengers which hadde bene sent thither befoze with other Indians, saying, that the Tlaxcaltecas knewe nothing of the thinges that were happened, certifying likewise that those with whome hee had soughte were of other communities, and not of their iurisdiction, being sorrowfull for that whiche hadde passed : and for so muche as it happened in theyr Countrey, they woulde willingly paie for the two horses whiche were slaine, praying them to come in good time to theyr Towne, who woulde gladly receiue them, and enter into their league of friendshippe, because they seemed to bee valiant menne : but all was a sayned and a false message.

A subtil message.

¶ Yet Cortez beleued them, and gaue them thanks for their curtesie and good will, and that according to their request hee woulde goe vnto theyr Towne, and accept their friendshippe. And touching the death of his horses, he required nothing, for within short space he expected many moe : but yet God knoweth how sorrowfull he was for the want of them, and not only so much for them, as that the Indians shoulde thinke that horses could die, or be slaine.

Cortez proceeded forwarde aboute twoo leagues where the horses were killed, although it was almost sunneset, and his men wearied, hauing travelled farre that day.

The Conquest of

His will was, to haue pitched his Campe in a strong place of water : wherefoze he planted his army by a higher side, whereas they remained all that night with good watche both of fote men and boylemen, fearing some assault: but there was no attempt giuen that night, where by they might haue taken better rest, then they were aware of.

How there ioyned a hundred and fiftie thousand men against Cortes.



The next morning at Sun rising, Cortes departed with his army in good order, and in the midst of them went the sardage and artillerie, and as sone as they were come to a litle vilage there nere at hand, they met with the other two messengers of Zempoallan, who departed from them at Zaclotan: they came with pitifull cheer, exclaiming of the Captains of the power of Tlaxcallan, who had bounde them, and deteyning them from returning : but with good fortune, that night they hadde broken loose, and escaped, for otherwise in the morning following, they had bin sacrificed to the God of Mictoy, and after the sacrifice, to be eaten, for a good beginning of their warres, protesting the like to be done with the bearded men, and with as many as came with them.

They had no sower tolde their tale, when there appeared behinde a littel hill about a thousande Indians, verie well appointed after their fashion, and came with such a marvellous noyse and crie, as though they: voyces shoulde haue pearced the Heauens, hurling at our menne stones, darts, and shotte with bowes and arrows.

Cortes

the vvest India.

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Cortes made many tokens of peace vnto them, and by his interpreters desired them to leaue the battell. But so much the moze as he entreated for peace, the moze hartie and earnest were they, thinking either to haue overcome them, or else to holde them play, to the intent that the Spaniards should haue followed them to a certaine ambush that was prepared for them, of moze then 80000. men, which they had planted in a cræke of a riuer which abutted vpon the high way. Then our men began to cease from words, and to lay hande vpon their weapons, for that companie of a thousand, were as many, as on our side were fighting men, they were well practised in the warres, very valiant, and also pitched in a better place for fight. This battell endured certaine houres, and at the ende the Indians being either wearied, or else meaning to take our men in the snare appointed, began to flie toward their maine battell, not as overcome, but to ioyne with their owne folke. And our men being hote in the fight and slaughter which was not little, followed them with all their sardage, and vnwares fell into the ambush among an infinite number of Indians armed, they stayed not because they would not put themselves out of order, and passed thzough their campe with great haste & feare. The enemies began to set vpon the horsemen, thinking to haue taken their lances from them, their courage was so shoute: many of the Spaniards had their perished, had it not bin for the Indian friends. Likewise the courage of Cortes did much animate them, for although he ledde his armie making way, yet diuerse times, he turned him backe to place his men in order, and to comfort them, and at length came out of that dangerous way into the plaine field, where the horses might helpe, and the ordinance stonde in stede, which two things did greatly annoy the enemy to their great wonder and maruell, and

First battell.

80000. men.

S: cond battell

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at the sight thereof began to flie.

In both encounters remained many Indians slaine, and wounded, and of the Spaniards some were hurt, but none killed, giuing most heartie thanks vnto God for their deliuerie from so great a multitude of Indians their enemies, with much ioy and pleasure of the victorie. When they went to pitch their campe in a Village called Teoacazincos, where was a little towne and a temple, and there fortified themselves, and buylt Cottages of bowes and straw. The Indians of Zempoallan, and those of Iztacnixtlian, did play the valiant men that day, wherefore Cortes honoured them with hearty thanks.

The care of
good soldiers,

This day was the first of September. The night following, our men slept not quietly with feare of inuasion of their enemies, but they came not, for they neuer use to fight in the night season: And as soone as it was day Cortes sent to the Captaines of Tlaxcallan, to require them of peace and friendship, willing them quietly to suffer the passage through their Countrey to Mexico, for that they meant them no hurt but rather good will. This done, he left two hundred Spaniards, and the Carreis in the Campe. And toke with him other two hundred, with seven hundred Indians, and went with them abroade to skirmish in the face of their enemies, and at that time burned five or six villages, and returned with foure hundred prisoners, without receiuing any hurt, although they followed him to his campe. At his returne he found the answer of the Captaines his enemies, which was, that the next day they would come and talke with him, and declare their mindes.

Cortes was well pvenented that night, for the answer liked him not, but rather seemed bzaue, and a matter determined to bee done as they had saide: likewise those which were taken prisoners, certified that his enemies were

were ioined together to the nūber of 150000. men to giue him battell the next day following, & to swallow the aliuē whom so mortally they did hate, thinking the to be friēds to Motezuma, vnto whom they wished all euil & mischief.

It was most true that the Tlaxcaltecas had gathered all their whole power to appzehend the bearded men, and to make of them a moze solemne sacrifice vnto their gods, then at any time heretofore they had done, with a generall banquet of their flesh, which they called Celestiall. The Captaines of Tlaxcallan deuised their souldiers into four battells, & one to Tepectipac, another to Ocotelulco, the third to Tizatlan, and the fourth to Quiahuiztlan, that is to say, the men of the Mountaines, the men of the Limepittes, the men of the Winetrers, and the water men, euery of these had their Lardes and Captaines, whom they should repaire vnto and obey, and all these foure sortes of men doth make the bodie of the common weale and Citie, and also commaunde both in time of warre and peace. So that euery of these Captaines had his iust portzion or number of warriours, but the general of all & whole army was called Xicotencatl, who was of the Limepits: and he had the standart of the Citie, which is a Crane of gold, with his wings spread, adorne with Cime, rals & silver worke, which standart is according to their vse, either caried before the whole host, or else behinde the all. The second Captaine or Lieutenant was Maxixcazin, & the number of the whole army was 150000. men. Such a great number they had ready against 400. Spaniards, and yet at length overcome, neuertheless after all this boile, they were most great friends. These foure captains came wth their cōpany, that the fields where they were, seemed a forest. They were trim fellows, and well armed according to their vse, although they were painted so, that their faces shewed like diuels, with great tufts of feathers,

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Indian armor.

feathers and triumphed gallantly. They had also slings, staves, speares, swordes, bowes and arrowes, skulles, splents, gantlets all of wood, gilt or else couered with feathers or leather, their Cozlets were made of Cotton woll, their targets and bucklers gallant and strong, made of woods couered with leather, and trimmed with latton and feathers, their swordes were staves with an edge of flint-stone cunningly ioyned into the staffe, which would cut very well, and make a soze wound.

The host (as is declared) was diuided into foure parts, their instruments of warre were hunters hoznes, and drummes called attabals, made like a caldron, and couered with bellam. So that the Spaniards in all the discovery of India did neuer see a better army together, nor better ordered.

The threatning of the Indian campe against the Spaniards.

These Indians were great braggers, and saide among themselues, what madde people are these that threatneth vs, and yet knoweth vs not. But if they wilt bee so bolde to invade our Countrey without our licence, let vs not set vpon them so sone: it is mete they haue a little less, for we haue time enough to take and binde them, let vs also lend them meat, for they are comen with emptie stomachs: And againe they shall not say that we doe apprehend them with wearinesse and hunger. Whereupon they sent vnto the Christians three hundred Ginnea cockes, and two hundred baskets of bread called Centli. The which present was a great succour for the neede that they stood in. And sone after (quoth they) nowe let vs goe and set vpon them, for by

A present.

by this time they haue eaten their meate, and nowe wee will eate them, and so shall they pay vs the virtuales that we sent: likewise we wil know if Murezuma commaunded them to come into our countrey, or who else. And if he sente them, then let him come and deliuer them: and if it be their owne enterpryse, they shall receiue theyr reward accordingly. These and such like bragges they vsed, seing so fewe Spaniardes befoze them, and not knowing their strength. When the foure Captaines sente two thousand of their valiantest men of warre and olde Souldiers, to take the Spaniardes quietly, with commaundement that if they did resist, either to binde them or else to kill them, meaning not to sette their whole armie vpon them, saying that they shoulde gette but small honour for so great a multitude, to fight against so fewe. The two thousande Souldiers passed the trench that was betwixt the two Campos, and came boldly to the Tower where the Christians were. Then came forth the Portuguese men, and after them the footemen, and at the first encounter they made the Indians see how the yron swordes woulde cutte: and at the seconde, they shewed of what force those fewe in number were, of whome a little before they had so tested: But at the thirde bunte they made those lusty Souldiers fly, who were come to apprehende them, for none of them escaped, but onely suche as knewe the passage of the trenches or ditch.

A reckning
made before
the hoste.

Bataille.

When the maine battell and whole army sette forth with a terrible and marvellous noise, and came so fierce vpon our menne, till they entred into our campe without any resistance, and there were at hande strokes and wassling with the Spaniardes, and in a god space coulde not gette them out, killing many of them which were so bolde to enter: and in this sorte they fought foure howes, befoze they coulde make way among
 their

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their enemies. And then the Indians began to faint, seeing so many dead on their side, and the great wounds they had, and that they could kill none of the Christians: yet the battaile ceased not till it was neere night and then they retired. Whereof Cortes and his souldiers were exceeding gladde, for they were fully weryed with killing of Indians, so that all that night our men triumphed with moze ioy, then feare, considering that the Indians fought not by night, they slepte and toke their rest at pleasure, which they had not done till that time, but alwaies kept both watche and warde.

The Indians finding many of their hoste missing, yet they would not yelde themselves as overcome, as after did appeare. They coulde not well tell howe many were slaine, nor yet our men had leasure to count them.

Cortes was a
painfull man.

The next day in the morning Cortes wente forth to runne the fieldes as he had done before, leaving halfe his menne to keepe the campe, and because he shoulde not be espied he departed before day, & burned aboute .x. towne, and sacked one towne, which was of thre thousande houses, in the whiche were founde but fewe folke of sight, because the most of them were gone to their campe: After the spoyle, he set fire on the towne and came his way to his campe with a greate pray by none time. The enemies pursued thinking to take away their pray, and followed them into the camp, where they fought five houres and could not kill one Spaniarde, although many of their side were slaine: for even as they were many and stood on a throng together, the ordinaunce made a wonderful spoyle among them, so that they left off fighting, and the victory remained for our men. The Indians thought that the Spaniardes were enchanted because their arrowes coulde not hurte them.

The next day following, the foure Captaines sente
thre

the west India.

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these severall things in present to Cortes, and the messengers that brought them said: Sir behold here five slaves, and if thou be that rigorous God that eatest mans flesh and blood, eat these which we bring unto thee, and we will bring thee more. And if thou be the gentle and meke God, beholde here franckinsence and feathers. And if thou be a mortal man, take here soule, bread, & cherries.

A strange
presence.

Cortez answered, that both he and his were mortal men even as they were. And because that alwaies he had used to tell them truth, wherefore did they use to tel him lies, and likewise to flatter him, for he desired to be their friende, advising them to be madde and stubborne in their opinion, for if they so did, assuredly they shoulde receive great hurte and dammage. Likewise (quoth he) it is apparant unto you how many of your side are slaine without the losse of one of mine, and with this answer sent them away. Notwithstanding the answer sent, there came aboute. 30000. of them even to Cortez his campe to proue their Coxselettes, as they had done the day before, but they returned with broken pates. Here is to be noted, that although the first day the whole host of Indians came to combt with our men, and finally all they came to fight, yet the next day they did not so, but every severall captaine by himselfe, for to divide the better the travail and paines equally among them: & because that one should not disturbe another through his multitude, considering that they should fight but with a few, & in a narrow place, & for this consideration, the ir battails were more fresher & stronger, for each captaine did contend who should do most valiantly, for to get honour, and especially in killing one Spaniard, for they thought that all their hurtes shoulde be satisfied with the death of one Spaniards, or taking one prisoner.

Likewise is to be considered, the strangeness of their battaille, for notwithstanding their controuersie

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all those fiftie daies that they were there, whether they
 Indian policie. fought or no. The Indians sente vnto the Spaniards
 rakes of beade, Cinnea cockes and Cherries. But this
 policie was not to giue them that meate for god will,
 but onely to spie and see what hurt was done amongst
 them, and also to see what feare or stomacke they had
 to procede: but the Spaniards fell not into that reck-
 ning, for the espies of Tlaxcallan saide, that none had
 fought with them but certaine outlawes and knaues
 called Ocomies, who liued as vagaboundes without a
 Lorde or other ruler: And that they were thames, who
 had they abiding behinde a hill, which they pointed vn-
 to with their hande.

How Cortez cut off the handes of fiftie
 Indian espies.



The next day after these presentes were set
 vnto them as Goddes, which was the firste
 of September, there came to the Campe
 fiftie Indians of Tlaxcallan, which seemed
 after their sojourn honest men, and gaue vnto
 Cortez bread, cherries, & Cinnea cockes, as
 they ordinarily vsed to do, enquiring how all his Span-
 iards did and what they meant to doe, and whether they
 stood in necessitie of any thing. And after this communica-
 tion they went vp and downe the camp, gasing and behol-
 ding the hozles, armour and attillery, and seemed amazed
 to see such things. But the effect of their comming was the
 office of espies.

Teuche of Zempoallan marking these things, who being
 of a childe brought vp in wars, by reason wherof he was
 expert & wise, came vnto Cortez, saying, sir it seemeth not
 well, if these Tlaxcaltecas wander by & downe your camp
 behol-

beholding the entrance and going out of the same, to behold likewise the fortitude and weaknesse of your power, I like it not: It may please you to make enquire whether they be spies or no. Cortez having heard his tale, gave him heartie thanks for his good advice, yea and marvelled, that neyther he himselfe, nor none of his Spanyardes had noted the thing, the Indians having so many dayes come vnto them after this sort, yea and that only Indian of Zempoallan had considered it.

The good
advice of a
friend.

Now the originall cause was not because Teuch was more wise then the Christians, but by reason that he had seene and heard those Indians commune with the subjects of Iztacmiltlan to seke their mindes, and with craft and subtiltie to obtaine their desire: whereby Cortez understood that those fellows came not to any good purpose: he apprehended that Indian which stode next vnto him, and hauing him alone from his fellowes, by his Interpreters examined him effectually, who incontinent confessed that he was a spie, and that his comming thither was to view the way how to enter their Campe for to spoyle and burne their Tentcs: and for so much as they had proued fortune all the houres of the day, and all happened contrary to their desire, against their auncient fame and glory which they had obtained by noble exploitcs in wars, they now meant to proue their successe by night, hoping of better fortune: and also because their souldiers should not feare the hostes, with the darkenesse of the night, nor the blowes or stripes of the bright swordes, nor yet the fire and terrible noyse of the Ordnance: and that Captaine Xicotencatl was already appointed for that enterpryse, with promise of many thousand souldiers which laie in ambush in a vale behinde certain hilles, right ouer against their Campe.

Confession.

After this confession taken, Cortez full prudently con-

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A good correction.

manded to take also the feneral confessions of other foure or fīue, who likewise confefled that they were all efpies, vppon whose confessions they were all fiftis taken prifoners, and iudgement giuen, that their one hand fhould be cut off, which was forthwith executed, and then were returned to their Camp, fignifying vnto them that the like iuftice fhould bee executed vppon as many efpies as they might take. And alfo they were charged to fhewe vnto their General who had fent them, that both day and night he would be ready for them.

When the Tlaxcaltecas faw the efpies come in this pickle, they were in a maruellous feare, and it femed a newe world vnto them, they alfo belened that our men had fome familiar fpirites that did inſtruct them of their thoughts, and with feare of cutting off hands, there went no more efpies with victuals.

An Embaſſage that Mutezuma ſent to Hernando Cortez.

A carefull
Captaine.

When theſe efpies were gone, our men eſpied out of our Camp a great multitude of men goe croſſing ouer a hill, and it ſemed that they were thoſe that the Captaine Xicotencal had in ambuſh, and although it was neare night, Cortez determined to followe them, and not to abide their coming, fearing at the firſt brunt they might ſet fire among his cottages, as was pretended among them, which pretence hauing taken effect, might haue bene the deſtruction of all his men, either by the fire or otherwiſe, wherefoze he put all his men in good order, and commaunded the hoſemen to decke the breaſt plates of his hoſes with belles, and then proceeded toward their enemies,

enemies, who durst not abide their coming, having intelligence of the cutting of their espies hands, and likewise hearing the new noyse of belles, yet our men followed them till two houres within night, through many lowen fields of Centli, and slew many of them, and then returned with victorie to the Camps.

At that season were come sixe noble men from Mexico, who brought two hundred serving men to wait upon them. They brought unto Cortez a present, which was a hundred garmentes of cotton, and some of feathers, and a thousand peeces of gold.

Ambassage
from Mutezuma.

These embassadoers on the behalfe of Mutezuma, declared, that their Lord would be friend with the Emperour, and also with him, and his company, requesting to know what tribute he would yearely demand, in golde, plate, pearles, slaves, or garmentes, or of any other thing that was within his kingdome, and the same tribute hee would well and truly pay without delay, with such condition, that neither hee nor his company should come unto Mexico. And this request (quoth they) is not only because you should be disturbed to come into his countrey, but chiefly because the way is enill, barren, and full of rockes, which let doth graue Mutezuma, that suche valiaunt men as yee be should suffer in his Countrey, lying in his power not to remedie it.

Excuses.

Cortez did thankefully receive the present and gentle offer for the Emperour King of Castile: but (quoth he) my earnest desire is, that you depart not till ye see the end of these warres which I have now in hand, because yee shall carrie newes thereof to Mexico what I pretend to doe against these mortall enemies of Mutezuma.

Then Cortez fell into an ague, for which cause he went not

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not out to skirmish as he was wont to do, but only promised to make his Camp strong against certaine flockes of Indians, which came daily to skirmish, for that was as ordinary, as the meat that was wont to be brought to them: but yet these skirmishes nor furie of the Indians were not like to their fierce beginning.

Cortez now meaneth to take a purgation for his ague: and toke certaine pilles which hee brought with him from Cuba, at such houre of the night as is best for purgations.

It happened that the next day following, before his purge had wrought, came three great companies of Indians to besiege his Campe. It should seme that those Indians had some intelligence of his sicknesse, or else thinking with feare that he durst not come aboard as he was wont to do.

A valiant captainc.

Cortez being aduertised of this newes, without any more respect to his purgation taken, toke his horse, and with his menne came to the encounter, and fought with his enemies all day till it was night, and brane them a good way off, to their great hurt, and then returned to his Camp, and the next day following, he purged as fresh, as though it had bene newly taken. I do not rehearse this for a miracle, but to declare what he passed: for Hernando Cortes was a greates sufferer of trauell and paynes, and one of the first that alway was at any assay or hunt of enemies, and hee was not onely a good man of his hands, but also graine in counsell. And hauing thus purged himselfe, and taken rest those dayes, he watched euery night that fell to his lotte, as well as any other souldier, and so continually he used to do. He was not for this the lesse esteemed, but rather muche the more beloued among his men.

How

the west India.

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How Cortez wanne a great Citie called
Zimpanzinco.



In an euening Cortez went by to the
toppe of his Towre, and looking round
about him, he espied about four leagues
distant in the Mountaines amongst
rockes, and proceeding out of a wood
diuers smokes, whereby he imagined
people to be there: hee opened not his
minde to any man, but commaunded

two hundred of his men to follow him, and some Indians
his friends, and within thre or foure houres of the night
he tooke his iourney toward the Mountaines, being very
darke. He had not fully gone a league, when sodainly ap-
peared the likenesse of a greate Bull whiche ouerthelwe
them that they could not stirre. The first horseman being
fallen, they aduised Cortez therof, who answered, that he
should returne with his horse to the Campe: and incontin-
ent fell another, Cortes commaunded him the like: and
when thre or foure were fallen, his company retired, say-
ing: it was an euill token, desiring him to returne and a-
bide the morning, that they might see whither they went.
He answered, saying, ye ought to giue no credit to witch-
craftes or fantassies, for God, whose cause we take in hand,
is aboue all nature: wherefore I will not leaue my pre-
tended iourney, for I do imagine that of this nights tra-
uell shall come great ease and pleasure, saying, that the
Diuell hath in this forme of a Bull appeared, to disturbe
vs. He had no sooner ended his talke, when his horse fell
likewise: then counsell was taken what was best to bee
done.

An euill spirit
appeared.

A courageous
Captaine.

It was determined that the horses which were fallen,

should

should

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should be returned to the Campe, and that of the residue, eache Horseman should leade his horse by the bridle, and so procede on their way, and shortly after their horses were well againe, but they neuer knew of what motion they had fallen : with the darkenesse of the night they lost their way to the Mountaines, and chaunced into a cragged rock way, that they thought neuer to haue come out thereof.

And after a while that they hadde gone this euill way, with their haire standing with very feare, they espied a little light, and tooke the way thither, where they founde a little house, wherein were two women, and those women, with other two women that afterwarde they mette, conducting them to the Wildernesse, where they had espied the smoke, and before day they sette vp on certaine Villages, and slew manie, yet they burned not those Villages, because they shoulde not be perceined through the light thereof. They receined their aduise, that nere at hand were great populations, and soone after he came to Zimpanzinco, a towne of twentie thousand houses, as after did appeare by the visitation of Cortes. These inhabitantes being vnaduised of this suddaine hap, were taken in their beddes, and came out all naked through the strettes, to know what the great mourning and lamentation meant : at the first entrance many were slaine, but because they made no resistance, Cortez commaunded to cease from killing, no yet to take any of their goods, or women.

The feare of these poore inhabitantes was so great, that they fled without respect of the father to the childe, or husbände to the wife, or yet either of house, or goods.

Cortez commaunded signes of peace to bee made vnto them, and with that they staid, and before the Sunne rising,

A famous
Cortes.

rising, the Towne was pacified.

Cortez went vp into a Tower to descry the Countrey, and there espied a most great population: hee thence maunded what it was: aunswere was made that it was called Tlaxcallan, and the Towne thereto appertaining. Then he called his Spaniards, and saide vnto them: beholde, what would it haue preuailed vs to kill these pooze soules, hauing yonder so manie enemies: and without doing anye more hurte in that Towne, hee went to a faire fountaine there at hande, and thither came the Rulers of that Towne, and other foure hundred menne without weapon, and brought with them muche victuall, most humbly they besought Cortez to doe them no more hurte, giuing him likewise great thanks, that hee hadde so fauourably vsed them, offering both to serue and obey him, and from that day forwarde they woulde not onely keepe his friendship, but also trauell with the Lordes of Tlaxcallan and others, that they should doe the same. Cortes replied, that sure he was, howe they hadde sought against him before that time, although that now they brought him meate, yet notwithstanding he pardoned them, and also receiued them into his seruice and friendship, to the vse of the Emperour.

With this communication hee departed from them, and returned to the Campe very ioyfull with so good successe, hauing suche a dangerous beginning, with the sodaine fall of their horses, wherein the prouerbe is fulfilled, which saith, Speake not euill of the day, till it bee at an end.

They hadde also a great hope, that those newe friends woulde bee a meane, to cause the Tlaxcaltecas to leaue from warre, and to become their friends.

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From that day forthward, he commaunded that none of his Campe should doe any hurt to any Indian, and certified his men that the same day his warres were at an end with that prouince.

The desire that some of the Spaniards had to leaue the warres.



When Cortez was returned so ioyfully to his camp, he found some of his men discouraged with the sodaine mishap of the horses, fearing that likewise some misfortune had hapned to Cortes, but when they sawe him come well, and with victoꝝ, their ioy was great, although true it is, that many of his

men were not well pleased, but desired much to leaue the warres, and to returne to the coast, as they had often requested, but now chiefly seeing such a great countrey, and full of people, who would not permit there abiding there, and they being so few in nūber in the midst among them without hope of succour, certainly things to be feared.

Murmuration

With this murmuratiō they thought it good to talk with Cortes, and also to require him to pꝛocēde no further, but returne backe againe to Vera Cruz, from whence by little and little they might haue intelligence with the Indians, and thereupon pꝛocēd accordyng to time, and that he might pꝛouide moze horses and men, which was the chief pꝛouision of the warre.

And although some secretly enforzmed Cortes of this matter, yet he gaue no eare to their talke, but on a night as he came out of his Towꝛ to ouerlooke the watch, he heard a loude talke out of one of the Cottages, and beganne to hearken what their communication was,

was, and the matter was, that certaine souldiers sayde these wordes: If our Captaine be madde, and goe to where he may be slaine, let him go alone, what néede we to follow him. Cortez hearing this talke, called two of his friends for witnesse, willing them to hearken his souldiers talke, for he that durst speake such wordes would be readie to doe it. Also he heard others say, what shall our iourney be as Pedro Carbonerotes was: who went into Barbaria to take Spozes, and he and all his were there slaine, wherfoze said they, let vs not follow him, but turne in time. It grieved Cortes much to heare this talke, who would faine haue corrected them, but it was not then time, wherfoze he determined to lead them with sufferance, and spake vnto them as followeth.

The Oration made by Cortez to his
Souldiours.



Masters and louing friends, I did chouse you for my fellowes, and ye chose me for your Captaine, and all was for the seruice of God, and the augmenting of his holy faith, and also the seruice of our soueraigne Lord the king, now Empero: and next for our owne commoditie, I (as ye haue sene) haue not failed, nor yet displeased ye, nor ye likewise haue otherwise done to me vnto this day. But now I doe feele faintnesse in some, yea and an euill will to goe forward in the warres which we haue in hand: but (God be pray- sed) it is now finished, at the least the ende is vnderstande, what it may be, and also the wealth that may follow, as partly you haue sene, but much without comparison of that you haue not sene, which is a thing that doth exceeds

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the greatnesse of our wayes or thoughts.

Fear not (my louing fellowes) to goe and abide with mee, God forbidde that I should thinke, yea or that any shoulde report, that feare bereth my companie, or else disobedience to their Captaine, which is a perpetuall infamie, if wee shoulde leaue this lande, this warre, this way already made, and returne as some doe desire, shall wee then liue at rest, loytering as idle and lost folke: God forbidde, that euer our Nation shoulde haue such a name, hauing warres of honour. And whether (I pray) shall the Deere goe where hee shall not helpe to plough the ground? Doe ye thinke peraduenture that ye shall finde lesse people, worse armed, and not farre from the sea? I doe assure you, that in so thinking ye seeke after fine fete for a Catte, yea, and you shall trauell no way, but that you shall meete some euill passage (as the Proverbe sayth) yea and farre worse than this that wee haue in hande. For why (God be thanked) since wee came into this Countrey, wee neuer wanted meate, friends, neither money nor honour. For now ye see that ye are esteemed more than menne, yea as persons immortall, and Gods, if it might bee spoken, for these Indians being so many, and without number, and so armed, as ye your selues affirme, yet can they not kill one of vs: and as touching their weapons, you see that they are not poysoned, as the Indians of Carthage, Verragha, and the Caribez doe vse, which haue killed many of our Nation therewith, dying as madde menne raging.

And if there were no other cause then this onely, you shoulde not seeke others, with whome to warre: I doe confesse that the Sea is somewhat farre from vs, and neuer Spaniards trauelled so farre into the maine lande of India, as we haue done: for why? now we leaue the
Sea

Sea a hundred and fiftie miles behinde vs, nor yet euer any hath come to neare Mexico where Mutezuma doth reside, from whome such messages and Treasure wee haue receiued. It is now but thre score miles thither, and the way is past, as you doe see, if wee come thither, as I trust in Iesus wee shall, then shall we not onely gette and winne for the Emperoure our naturall Lord, a riche lande, great Kingdomes, infinite Vassalles, but likewise for our selues much riches, as Golde, Siluer, Precious stones, Pearles, and other commoditie: and besides this, the greatest honour that euer any nation did obtaine. For looke how great a king this is, howe large his Countrey is, and what great multitude of people hee hath, so much the more is our glorie.

Besides all this, wee are bound as Christians, to exalt and enlarge our Catholike faith, as we haue begunne, abolishing Idolatrie and blasphemie against our Saniour Christ, taking away the bloudie Sacrifice and eating of mans flesh, so horrible and agaynst nature, and many other grievous sinnes so much here vsed, for the foulness whereof I name them not. And therefore (I say) feare you, nor yet doubt you the victorie, considering that the way is past. Of late we overcame the Indians of Tabasco, and also an hundred and fiftie thousand this other day of the Tlaxaltecas, who haue the onely name of breakers of Lions iawes: so with Gods helpe you shall be conquerours of the rest, if ye faint not, and follow me.

All his companie was pleased and content with this comfortable exhortation, and those that were faint hearted recovered strength. And his valiant Souldiours recovered double strength, & those who hated him, began to honour him: and in conclusion he departed from thence
 exceeding

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exceeding wel beloued of all his company. But at his former talke was very needfull as time then required: for why? some of his (as you haue heard) were desirous to returne: likewise vpon dissention, rebellion mought haue growne, and he forced to returne to the sea coast, where all his toyle and trauell taken had bene lost.

How Xicotencatl came for Embassadour to
Cortez his campe.

Cortez had not so long made an ende of his talke, when Xicotencatl came entering into the campe, who was chiefe and generall captaine in Tlaxcallan, and of all the wars: he brought in his companie fiftie persons of authoritie to keepe him companie. They approached nere where Cortez was, and saluted ech other accordyng to the vse of their countrey. Their salutations ended, and the parties setten downe, Xicotencatl began the talk, saying: Sir, I am come on mine own behalf, and also of my fellow captaine, and lieutenant Maxixca, and in the name of many other noble personages, and finally in the name of the whole state & common weale of Tlaxcallan, to beseech and pray you to admit vs into your friendship, and to yeld our selues and countrey vnto your King, crauing also at your hand pardon for our attempt in taking armes against you, wee not knowing what you were, nor what you sought for in our Countrey. And where we presumed to resist and defende your entrance, wee did it against the straungers whom wee knewe not, and such menne as wee had neuer heretofore seene: and fearing also that you had bene friends to Mutezuma, who is, and alwayes hath bene our mortall enemy. And these things we suspected, seeing Mutezuma his seruants
in

in your company, or else wee imagined that you were
 comen to vsurpe our libertie, the which oft times with-
 out memozie wee haue possessed, as our forefathers did
 with the shedding of their blood. And of our owne natu-
 rall prouision wee want Cotten wooll to cloath vs, where-
 soe in time past we went as naked as we were bozne,
 but some of vs used other cloth to couer our nakednesse,
 made of the leaues of the tree called Melt: and Salt al-
 so we wanted, which two things so necessarie to hu-
 maine life. Mutezuma had great store, and other our
 enemies, of whome wee are round about enuironed.
 And likewise where wee haue no golde stones of value,
 or any rich thing to barter with them, of verie pure ne-
 cessitie many times wee are forced to sell our owne bo-
 dyes to buy these wantes. And this extremitie (saide he)
 wee needed not, if that wee would be subiectes and vas-
 sals to Mutezuma. But yet had wee rather all in ge-
 nerall to ende our liues, then wee would putte our
 selues in such subiection, for we thinke our selues as
 valiaunt menne in courage as our forefathers were,
 who alwayes had resisted agaynst him, and his grand-
 father, who was as mightie as now is he: we would
 also haue withstande you and your force, but wee could
 not, although we proued all our possibilitie by night and
 day, and found your strength inuincible, and we no lucke
 agaynst you. Wherefore sithence our fate is such, wee
 had rather bee subiect vnto you then vnto any others.
 For we haue knowne and heard by the Zempoallanezes,
 that you doe no euill, nor came not to bere any, but
 were most valiaunt and happie, as they had seene in
 the warres, being in your companie. For which con-
 sideration, wee trust that our libertie shall not be dimi-
 nished, but rather our owne persons, wines, and familie,
 better preserved, and our houses and husbandrie not
 destroyed.

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destroyed. And in some of all his talke, the teares trickling downe his cheekes, he besought Cortez to wry that Tlaxcallan did neuer at any time reknowlege any superior King or Lord, nor at any time, had commended any person among them to commaunde, but onely he, whome they did voluntarily elect and chose as their superiour and ruler.

It can not be tolde, how much Cortez reioyced with this Embassage, and to see such a mighty Captaine come vnto his campe to submitte himselfe: and also it was a matter of great waight to haue that Citie in subiection, for the enterprize which he had in hande, whereby he fully made an account that the warres were at an ende, to the great contentation of him and his company, and with great fame and reputation among the Indians.

Cortez with a mery and louing countenance answered, laying to their charge the hurte and damage whiche he had receiued in their countrey, because they refused at the first to hearken vnto him, and quietly to suffer him to enter into their countrey, euen as he had required and desired by his messengers of Zempoallan sente vnto them fro Zacaton. Yet at this yet withstanding he did both pardon the killing of his two horses, the assaulting of him in the bigge way, and the greates lies, which they had moste craftily vsed with him, (for where as they themselves fought against him, yet they laide the faulte to others,) likewise their pretence to murder him in the ambush prepared for him, conuincing him to come to their Citie, without making first defiance, according to the law of armes.

These causes notwithstanding, he did lowingly receiue their offer made in subiection to the Emperour, and in this sorte departed, saying, that shortly he would be with him in Tlaxcallan, and presently he could not goe with

with him for the dispatch of the Ambassadors of Mutezuma.

The receiuing and entertainment of Cortez
in Tlaxcallan.



I græued much the Embassadors of Mutezuma, to see Xicotencates in the Spanish Camp, and the offer made by to Cortez in the behalfe of his King, of their persons, Citie and gods, aduising Cortes to giue credit vnto them, for all their saying (quoth they) is treason and lies, and to the entent to locke you by

in their Citie.

Cortes answered, that although their aduice were true, yet he did determine to go thither, for that he feared them lesse in the Towne then in the fielde. They hearing this answer and determination, besought him to giue vnto one of them licence to returne vnto Mexico, to aduertise Mutezuma of all that was past, with an answer to their Ambassage, promising within fife dayes to haue newes from Mexico, and till then prayed him not to depart with his Campe.

Cortes graunted their request, and abode there the time appointed, expecting the answer. In this meane season came many of Tlaxcallan to the camp, some brought Quina cockes, other brought bread and cherries, and gaue it for nothing in comparison, with merry countenance, desiring them to goe home with them vnto their houses.

The sixth day the Mexican came, according to promise, and brought vnto Cortes tenne Jewells of Golde, both rich and well wrought, and a fiftene thousand garments of Cotten exceeding gallant, and most earnestly besought

A rich present.

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him on the behalfe of Mutezuma, that he shoulde not daunger himselfe in trusting to the wordes of the Tlaxcaltecas, who were so poore that with necessitie woulde robbe him of the things whiche his maister had sente him, yea and likewise murder him, knowing of the friendshippe betwene his maister and him: like wise all the chiefeest Lordes of Tlaxcallan came to intreate him to goe with them to Tlaxcallan where he shoulde be cherished, lodged, and well pprovided. For it was a greate dishonour and shame for them to permitte suche personages to abide in such vile cottages as they were in.

And if (quoth they) you truste vs not, that then we are ready to give you for your securitie whatsoeuer gages you shall demaunde: notwithstanding they did bothe sweare and faithfully promise, that they might safely goe with them, saying also that the Othe and faith of theyr common weale shoulde neuer be broken for all the goods in the world.

Whereupon Cortez séing the good will of so many Gentlemen his newe friends, and likewise the Indians of Zempoallan, of whome he had good credite, did so impozone him and assure him of his going, he commaunded his sardage to be laden and also his ordinaunce, and departed towarde Tlaxcallan, whiche was sixe leagues from that place, with as good order as it had bene to a battaile: And at the Towre where he had pitched his campe, he left certaine Crosses for a memorie, with a greate heape of stones, and entren into Tlaxcallan the eightenth of September. There came out such a multitude of people to sé him and to méte him in the way, that it was a wonder to sé.

Entrance into
Tlaxcallan.

He was lodged in the greatest temple, which had many greate and faire lodgings, sufficient for him and all his companie, except the Indians his friends which were lodged

lodged in other Temples. He set certaine limittes, out of the which he commaunded straightely that none of his company should passe, vpon paine of death, and also commaunded that they shoulde take nothing, but what shoulde be giuen them. His commaundement was well obserued, for none presumed to goe a stoanes cast without his licence. The Indian Gentlemen shewed great pleasure and curtesie to the strangers, and prouided them of all things necessarie, and manye of them gaue theyr daughters vnto them, in token of true friendshippe, and likewise to haue fruite of their bodie, to be brought vp for the warres, being such valiant men.

This Countrey liked well our men, and the great loue of the people. They abode there at their pleasure twentie daies, in which time they did procure to knowe particularlye the estate of the common weale and secretes, and also were sufficiently instructed of the estate of Mutezuma,

The description of Tlaxcallan.



Tlaxcallan is properly in the Indian tongue as much to say, as bread well baked, for there is moze graine called Centli gathered, than is in all the prouince round about.

In times past the Citie was called Texcallan, that is to say, a valley betwixt two hills. It is a great Citie, and planted by a riuer side, whiche springeth out of Atlancatepec, and watreth the most parte of that prouince, and from thence issueth out into the South sea, by Zacatullan. This Citie hath foure goodly streetes, which are called Tepeticpac, Ocotelulco, Tizatlan, Quiahuitlan. The first streete standeth on high vpon a hill, farre from the riuer, which maye be aboute

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halfe a league, and because it standeth on a hill, it is called Tepetcapac, that is to say, a hill, and was the first population which was founded there on high, because of the warres.

An other streete was situate on the hill side towards the River, because at the building thereof, there were many Pine trees: they named it Ocotelulco, which is to say, a pine apple plot. This street was beautifull, and first inhabited of all the Citie, and there was the chiefest Market place, where all the buying and selling was used, and that place they called Tlanquitzli: in that streete was the dwelling house of Maxixca. Along the River side in the plaine, standeth another street called Tizatlan, because there is much lime and chalk. In this streete dwelled Xicotencatl, Captaine generall of the common weale. There is another streete named by reason of the blackish water, Quiahuitlan, but since the Spaniards came thither, all those buildings are almost altered, after a better fashion, and built with stone. In the plaine by the river side, standeth the Towne house, and other offices, as in the Citie of Venice. This Tlaxcallan was governed by noble and rich men: they use not that one alone should rule, but rather flee from that order, as from tyrannie.

In their warres (as I haue sayde before) they haue foure Captaines, which governeth each one streete, of the which foure, they do elect a Captaine generall. Also there are other Gentlemen that are undercaptaines, but a small number. In the warres they use their standarde to be carried behinde the armie, but when the battaile is to be fought, they place the standarde where all the host may see it, and hee that cometh not instant to the standarde, payeth a penaltie. The standarde hath two Crooked bowes at rowes set thereon, which they steale as the

the reliques of their auncetors. This standard two old soldiers, and haliant men, being of the chiefeft Captaines, haue the charge to carrie, in the which standard an abiding of southsaying, either of losse or victorie is noted. In this order they shote one of these arrows agaynst the first enemies that they meete, and if with that arrow they doe either kill or hurt, it is a token, that they shall haue the victorie: and if it neither kill, nor hurt, then they assuredly heliue that they shall lose the field.

This Province or Lordship of Tlaxcallan, hath 28. villages and townes, wherein is contained 150000. householbes. They are meynly made, and good warriors, the like are not among the Indians. They are very poore, and haue no other riches, but onely the graine or cozne called Centli, and with the graine and profite thereof, they doe both cloath themselves, and pay their tributes, and provide all other necessaries. They haue many Market places, but the greatest and most used dayly. Randeth in the streets of Ocotulca, which is so famous, that 30000. persons come thither in one day to buy and sell, which is to say, changing one thing for another, so they knowe not what money meaneth.

A strange contradiction.

They sell such things in that market, as here we see, and all thing vnto the needful to eat, and cloth for themselves, and necessaries for building.

They haue all kinde of good policie in the Citie: there are Goldsmiths, Featherdressers, Barbers, Shoehoules, and potters, who make as good earthen vessels, as is made in Spaine. The earth is fat and fruitfull for cozne, fruite, and pasture, for among the Pine trees groweth so much grasse, that our men feede their cattell there, which in Spaine they cannot doe.

Within two leagues of that Citie standeth a rounde hill of fire miles of height, and five and forty miles in compasse,

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compasse, and is now called Saint Bartholmees hill, where the snow freseth. In times past they called that hill Matealcocie, who was their God for water. They had also a God for wine, who was named Ometochi, for the great ozonhemelle, which they used. Their chiefest God was called Camaxtli; and by another name Mixco-nael, whose Temple stood in the streets of Ototelulco, in the which temple there was sacrificed some yeares above eight hundred persons. In Tlaxcallan they spake three languages, that is to saye, Nahuatl, which is the courtly speech, and chiefest in all the land of Mexico; another is called Otomir, which is most commonly used in the Villages: There is one onely street that spake Pinomeir, which is the grossest speche. There was also in that Citie a common Tayle, where fellows lye in yzons, and all things which they held for lawe, was there corrected.

Correction.

It chanced at that time a Spaniard to steale from a Spaniard a little golde, whereof Cortez complained to Maxaxca, who incontinent made enquire, that the offender was found in Chololla, which is another Citie five leagues from thence, they brought the prisoner with the golde, and deliuered him to Cortez, to doe with him his pleasure: Cortez would not except him, but gave him thanks for his diligence, then was he carried with a Cryer before him, manifesting his offence, and in the Market place vpon a skaffolde they brake his toyntes with a mallet: our men maruelled to see such strange Justice.

The

the west India.

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The answere of the Tlaxcaltecas touching the
leauing of their Idolles.

When Cortez sawe that these people executed Justice, and liued in Religion after their manner, although abhominable and diuellish: and alwayes when he desired them to leaue off from their Idolatrie and that cruell vanitie, in killing and eating men sacrificed, considering that none among them how holy soeuer he were, would willingly be slaine and eaten, required them to beleeue in the moste true God of the Christians, who was the maker of heauen and earth, the giuer of raine, and Creatoz of all things that the earth producere only for the vse and profit of mortall man.

Some of them answered, that they would gladly do it, onely to pleasure him, but they feared that the Commons would arise and stone them. Others said, that it was an hard matter to vnbelæue that which their forefathers had so long belæued, and that it should be a cause to condemne their forefathers and themselves.

Others said, that it might be in time they would conuert, seeing the order of the Christian Religion, and vnderstanding the reasons and causes to turne Christians, and likewise perceiuing thzoughly the maner and life of the Christians, with their lawes and customes: and as for warlike feates, they were satisfied, and had sene such trial, that they held them for men inuincible in that point, and that their God did helpe them.

Cortez promised them, that shortly hee would bring them suche men, as should instruct and teache them, and then they should see which way was best, with the great toy and fruite that they shoulde see. They accepting that counsell which hee like a friend had giuen them, and

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for as much as presently it could not be brought to passe by reason of his iourney to Mexico, he desired them, that the Temple wherein he was lodged, shoulde be made a church for him and his company, and if it pleased them, they might also come to see and heare their diuine seruice.

The Indians graunted his request, and dayly came among them all the time of their abode there, and some came and dwelte with the Spanyardes, but the chiefeest friende was Captaine Maxixca, who neuer went from Cortez.

The discord betweene the Mexicans and
Tlaxcalteca.



Cortez being thoroughly satisfied of their hartie good willes, he demaunded of them the estate and riches of Mutezuma. They exalted him greatly, as men that had proued his force. And as they affirmed, it was nere a hundred yeares that they maintained warre with him and his father Axaiaca, and others his Vnckels and Grandfathers. And saide also, that the golde and treasure of Mutezuma, was without number, and his power and dominion ouer all the lande, and his people innumerable: for (quoth they) he ioyneth sometime two hundred thousand men, yea and three hundred thousande for one battaile. And if it pleased him, he woulde make as many men double, and thereof they were good witnesse, because they had many times fought with him.

Maxixca desired of Cortez shoulde not aduenture himselfe into the power of the men of Culhua, whereat some of the Spanyards feared and suspected guill of the matter.

Cortez

Cortes tolde him, that notwithstanding al those things which they had tolde him, he was fully minded to goe to Mexico, to visit Mutezuma, wishing him to aduise him what he mought do, or bying to passe for them with Mutezuma, for he should willingly do it, for the curtesie shewed vnto him, and that he beleued Mutezuma would graunt him any lawfull request.

When they besought him to procure for them a licence to haue cotten woll and salte out of his Countrey, for (said they) in time of the warres we stode in great néede thereof, and that they had none but suche as they boughte by stealth of the Comercans very déere, in change of golde: for Mutezuma had made a strait lawe, whereby all suche as carried anye of those commoditties to them shoulde be slaine. When Cortez enquired the causes of their disorder and euill neighborhod. They answered, that their griefes were olde, and cause of libertie: but as the Ambassadors did affirme, and Mutezuma afterward declare, it was not so, but for other matter farre differente. So that eache partie alleadging their causes, their reasons were, that the yong menne of Mexico and Culhua did exercise and bying them vppe in warlike seates néere vnto them, and vnder theyr noses, to theyr greate annoyance, whereas they mought haue gone to Panuco and Teocantepec, his frontiers a farre off.

Likewise their pretence was, to haue warre with them being theyr neighbours, onely to haue of them to sacrifice to their Gods: so that when they would make any solemne feast, then would they send to Tlaxcallan for men to sacrifice, with such a great army, that they might take as many as they néeded for that yeare: for it is most certaine if Mutezma would, in one daye he mought haue broughte them in subiection, and slayne them

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all, toyning his whole power in effect : but his purpose was, to keepe them for a pray to hunt withall, for men to be sacrificed to his Goddes, and to eate, so that he would neuer sende but a small Armie against them : whereby it did chance that sometimes those of Tlaxcallan did ouercome.

Cortez receiued great pleasure to heare these discords betwixt his new friends & Mutezuma, which was a thing fit for his purpose, for by that meanes hee hoped to bring them all vnder subiection, and therefore he used the one and the other secretly, to build his pretence vpon a good foundation.

At all this communication there stood by certaine Indians of Verozinco, which had bene against our men in the late warres, the which Towne is a Citie as Tlaxcallan, and toynd with them in league of friendship against Mutezuma, who oppressed them in like effect of slaughter for their Temples of Mexico, and they also yelded themselves to Cortez for vassals to the Emperour.

The soleinne receiuing of the Spaniards
into Chololla.

The Ambassadors of Cortez seeing the determination of Cortez to proceede on his iourney toward Mexico, they besought him to goe by Chololla, whiche stood five leagues from thence, certifying that Chololla was a citie in their friendship, and y there he might at his pleasure abide y resolution of their Lord Mutezuma, whether it were his pleasure y he should enter into Mexico or no. This request was only to haue him from thence, for truly it greeued much Mutezuma of their new friendship and league, fearing

fearing that thereof would some great displeasure happen towards him, and therefore procured all that was possible to haue him from thence, sending him alwayes presents to allure him to come frō thence the sooner. But when the Tlaxcaltecas saw that he would go to Chololla, it grieved them much, saying vnto Cortes, that Mutezuma was a lier and fraudulent person, & that Chololla was a Citie his friend but not constant, and it might happen that they would displease him, hauing him within their Citie, wishing him to looke wel to himselfe. And if nōdes A gentle offer. he would go thither, yet they would provide 20000. men to keepe him company.

The women that were giuen to the Spaniards at their first entraunce, had vnderstanding of a snare that was layd to murder them at their comming to Chololla, by meanes of one of the foure Captaines, who had a sister which discovered the thing to Pedro de Aluarado who kept her. Cortes incontinent called that captaine out of his house, and caused him to be choked, and so was the matter kept close, that his death was neuer knowne, whereby the snare was vndone without any rumour. It was a wonder that al Tlaxcallan had not made an vpproze seeing one of their greatest Captaines dead. There was inquirie made of that snare, and the truth being knowne, it was approued, that Mutezuma had prepared, 30000. Souldiers who were in campe for that purpose within two leagues of the Citie, and that the strētes of Chololla were stopped vp with timber and railles, and the toppes of their houses provided with stones, which houses are made with plaine rofes, or lotties, and the high way stopped vp, and other false bywaies made, with deep holes pitched full of stakes very sharpe, to spoile and lame both horse and man: these engines were finely conered with sande, and could not be espied, although the scouters had

Correccion of
treason.

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gone before on foot to discover. The matter also was verie suspicious, for these Citizens of Chololla had not at any time come to visite him, or sent any present vnto him as others had done.

Whereupon Cortes consulted with the Tlaxcaltecas, to send certaine messengers to Cholollo, to request their captains and rulers to come vnto him, who did their message accordingly, and the Cholollans would not come, but yet they sent three or foure persons to excuse them, saying that they were not well at ease, praying him to signifie vnto the what he would haue: the Tlaxcaltecas enforced Cortes, that those messengers were men of small credite, and of low degree, wishing him not to depart till they Captaine came. In this sort Cortes returned their messengers backe againe, with commaundement written, declaring that if they came not within three dayes, hee would proclaime them rebels, and his vtter enemies, and as such would he chasten them with all rigour.

When this commandement came vnto them, the next day following came many Lords and Captaines to make their excuse, saying, that the Tlaxcaltecas were their enemies, and that though them they could not liue in safety: likewise they knewe of the euill report which they had made agaynst them: wherefore they besought him to giue no credite vnto them, for why, they were both false and cruell men: beseeching him also to goe with them to their Citie, and then he should see that all was but a mockerie that had bene tolde them, and they his good and faithfull friends: and last of all they offered to serue him as tributary subiects.

Cortes commaunded that all this talke should be set downe in writing before the Notarie, and his interpreters, and so tooke his leaue of the Citizens of Tlaxcallan. Maxixca wept at his departure, but there went in his com-

companie, a hundred thousand men of warre : there were among them many Marchants that went to barter for salt and mantels.

Cortez commanded that those hundred thousand men should go alwaies by themselves : that day he reached not to Cholollo, but abode by a byake side, and thither came many of the citie, to desire him that he Tlaxaltecas should not doe any hurt in their Countrey : whereupon Cortez commanded them to returne back again, all sauing 5000 or there about, much against their willes. But they still required him to take good hærde of those euill folke, who be not (quoth they) men of warre, but pedlers, and men of double heart : and they of their parts would bee very loth to leaue him in any perill or danger, hauing giuen themselves to be his true and faithfull friends.

The next day in the moyning the Spaniards came to Chololla, and there came out nere 10000. Indians to receiue him with their Captaines in good order : many of them presented vnto him bread, foule, & roses, and euery Captaine as he approached welcomed Cortez, and then stood aside, that the rest in order might come vnto him. And when he came entring into the Citie, all the other Citizens receiued him, marueling to see such men & horses.

After all this, came out all the religious menne, as Priests and Ministers, to the idols (who were many and straunge to beholde,) and all were clothed in white like vnto surples, and hemmed with Cotten thæde : some brought instruments of musike like vnto Coznettes, other brought instrumets made of bones, other an instrumet like a kettel couered with skin, some brought chafing dishes of coales with perfumes, others brought idols couered, and finally they all came singing in their language, which was a terrible noise, and vnto nere Cortes and his company sending them with sweet smells in their censers.

With

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With this pompe and solemnitie (which trulie was great) they brought him into the Citie, and lodged him in a house where was rounge inough for him and his, and gaue vnto each of them a Ginnea cocke, and his Indians of Tlaxcallan, Zempoallan and Iztacmiztlitan, were prouided by themselves.

The conspiracie of the Cholollans to kill
Cortes and his men.



At that night following Cortes was vigilant with al his company, for both in the way & in the towne they had found some of the things whereof they had been aduised before in Tlaxcallan, and although their first present was a Ginnea cock to each mans allowance, other thre dayes following they gaue them nothing almost to eate, and very seldome the capitaines came to visite them, whereof Cortes had great suspicion.

And in this meane while the Embassadours of Mutezuma entreated him to leaue off his iourney to Mexico, alledging that their great King would die in beholding their beards and iesture: other times they sayd that there was no passage, other times they woulde say that they wanted wherewith to sustaine them. And seeing them sully, and in euery respect aunswered to all these points, they caused the Townes men to enfourme them, that where Mutezuma his abiding was, were monstrous Lizards, Tigers, Lions, and many other fierce beasts, the which when Mutezuma commaunded to be loosed, were sufficient to plucke in peeces, and to destroy those felow straungers: and seeing that all these policie sauaild not, they consulted with the Capitaines and chiefe Citizens to marther

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murder the Chistians. And because they shoulde so
bying it to passe, the Embassadors promised the Ci-
tizens great rewarde on the behalfe of Mutezuma, and pre-
sented to their generall a drumme of Golde, and pro-
mised to bying the thirtie thousand Souldiers which lay
aboute two leagues from thence: the Cholollans promi-
sed to deliuer them bounde hande and fote. But yet they
would not consent that those Souldiers of Culhua shoulde
come into their Citie, fearing that they (vnder colour
of friendship) woulde remaine with the Towne, for
why the Mexicans had vsed the like sleight. And in this
sorte they with one bolte meante to kill two birdes at a
shote, for they thought to take the Spaniardes sleeping,
and then to remaine with the Towne of Chololla. Also it
was determined, that if all these pretences coulde not be
brought to passe, that then they shoulde be conducted a con-
trary way to Mexico vpon the left hande, in the which
were many dangerous places, because the way was all
sandy, with many fluces, ditches, and holes, of thre fadom
depe, meaning there to mette them, and to carry them
bound to Mutezuma: this matter being fully agreed, they
beganne to take away their householde stufte, and to car-
ry it with their wiues and children vpon into the moun-
taines.

Many perils

And our men being also ready to departe from thence
for their small chere with euill countenance, it happe-
ned, an Indian woman (being wiue to one of the principa-
lest Cittizens,) hauing some affection to the bearded men,
saide vnto Marina, that she shoulde abide there with hir,
for that she loued hir well, and that it woulde grieve her
that she shoulde be slaine with hir maister. Marina dissi-
muling the matter, procured to knowe what they were
that had conspired the thing, and hauing knowledge ther-
of, she ranne to seeke Aguillar hir fellow interpreter, and

Helpe from
God.

¶

both

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both together enforced Cortes of the whole matter.

Cortes hearing this newes, slept not, but incontinent examined two of the Cittizens, who confessed the thing euē as it passed, and as the Gentlewoman had declared: where vpon Cortes stayed his iourney two dayes, to mollifie the matter and to disappoint them of that euill pretended purpose, and also to correct their offences, he commaunded their rulers to be called, saying that he had to talke with them, and when they were comen, he required them neyther to vse lies nor deceits with him, but rather like men to desie him to the field and battaile, for (quoth he) honest men vse rather to fight thē to lie. They all answered that they were his friends and seruitors, and no liars, and that it might please him to shewe them when he would depart, for they would goe armed to keepe him company. He answered that he would depart the next day following, and that he required but only some of their slaues to carry his sardage, because his owne Tamemez or Carriers were wearied: likewise hee required some prouision of victuall.

At this last request they smiled, saying among themselves, to what purpose will these men haue victuals, for shortly themselves shalbe boyled and eaten with the sause called Axi, yca, and if Mutezuma had not pretended their bodie for his owne dish, they had bene eaten here befoze this time.

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The punishment that Cortez executed
for conspiracie.

THe next day in the morning the Cholollans thinking that they had their determinate purpose in god readinesse, they came & brought many to carry their sardage, and other some to carry the Spaniards vpon their backs, hoping to apprehend them in the same order. Ther came also many armed men of the most valiantest, to kill him that should disorder himselfe. Likewise that day their Priests sacrificed tenne children of thre yeres of age to their God Quezalcouatl, five of these children were men, and the other five women, whiche was their custome when they began their warres: the Captaines placed themselves at the foure doores of Cortez his house with some armed men. Cortez early in the morning had secretly in a readinesse the Indians of Zempoallan and Tlaxcallan, and other friends: he commaunded his hoysmen to take their hoyses, giuing them this watchword, that when they heard the noise of the shotte of a handgun, that then they should play the men, for it imported all their liues. And he seeing the towne men appoche nere his lodging, commaunded the captaines and chiefe of them to come vnto him, saying, that he would take his leaue of them: there came many, but he would not suffer above thirtie persons to come in, who were the principallest, and declared vnto them, that alwaies he had dealt truly with them, and they with him nothing but treason and lies. Likewise they had vnder colour requested that his frends the Tlaxcaltecas should not come vnto their towne, and that he fulfilled therein their desire, and also commaunded his owne men in no wise to be hurtfull vnto them, yea and although they had not prouided him of victuals

O worthis
Cortez.

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as reason did require, yet he would not permit any of his men to take the value of one henne from them, so that in recompence of all his gentle dealings and good will, they had moste wickedly procured the death of him and all his companie. And because they coulde not perfozme it in their owne towne, they had prepared the slaughter in the high way, at those dangerous places whiche they had determin'd to leade them into, pretending also the help of thirtie thousand men, Souldiers of Mutezuma, which army stode not fully two leagnes from thence. And for this horrible and detestable wickednesse ye shall all die, and in memozie of traytozs I will destroy this citie, and turne the foundations vpwordes, so that there shall remaine no remembraunce of you.

Their offence being manifest, coulde not be denied, and looking one vpon an other, their colours wared pale and wanne, saying, this man is like vnto our Goddes, who knoweth all things, therefore lette not vs denie the truth, and openly besoze the Embassadours of Mutezuma confesse their error and euill fate.

Then said Cortes to the Embassadours, you do se that we should haue bene slain by the Cholollons, and through the procuremēt of Mutezuma, but yet I beleue it not, considering that he is my friende and a mightie Prince, saying also that Noble men vsed neither treason nor lyes, wherefoze feare not you, but these dissembling Traytozs shal be punished, for you are persons inuolable, and messengers of a Prince, whome he meante to serue and not offend, because he had an assured opinion in Mutezuma, to be a vertuous Prince, and one that would not committe villanie.

All these wordes he spake, because he would not fall out with Mutezuma, untill he sawe himselfe within the Citie of Mexico.

Inconti-

Incontinent he commaunded some of those Captaines to beaine, and kept the residue bounde. When he shot off his handgunne, which was the watch vnto his armie, who forthwith set vpon the Townesmen, and within two houres slew fife thousand persons and moze.

Cortez commaunded that they should kill neither woman nor childe, they sought welneare fife houres: they sit fire on all the houses & Towers that made resistance, and dzaue all the inhabitants out of the Towne. The dead carkasses laie so thicke, that of force they must tread vpon them.

There were twentie Gentlemen, and many Priests, who ascended vp to the high tower of the temple, which hath a hundzeth and twentie steppes, from whence with arrowes and stones they did much hurt, and would not yelde, wherevpon our men set fire to the Tower, and burned them all. When they exclaimed on their Goddes, who would neither helpe them nor their Citie and holie sanctuary.

The Citie being sacked, our men toke the spoyle of golde, plate, and feathers, and the Indians their friends toke cloathes and salt, which was the treasure that they desired.

Cortez commaunded to cease the spoyle. The other Captaines that late bounde, hearing of such a great destruction and punishment, most pittifully besought Cortez to lose some of them; for to see what was become of their Gods and common people. Like wise they humbly besought him to pardon them, who had not so much fault as Mutezuma, who perswaded and entiled them to that pretended treason.

Upon their lamentable request, he losed two of them, and the next day following the Citie was as full of people againe, that there seemed not one to be wanting.

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At the sute of the Tlaxcaltecas who were put for meddators, Cortez pardoned them all, and set his prisoners at libertie, assuring them that the like correction he would do vpon all them that should dissemble or thewe an euill countenaunce, or make lies, or finally vse anye kinde of treason toward him: where vpon they all abode in greate feare. He made the knot of friendship betwene them and the Tlaxcaltecas, which in time past had ben betwixt the, for Murezuma and his auncestors made them enemies, with faire promises, wordes, and also feare.

The Citizens hauing their generall saine, chose an other with licence of Cortez,

The Sanctuary or holy place among the Indians, was Chololla.



Hololla is a citie as Tlaxcallan, and hath but one persō who is gouernour and general Captaine, chosen by the consent of al the Citizens. It is a Citie of twentie thousande householdes within the walles, and in the suburbs as much moze. It sheweth outwardes very beautilfull, and full of towres, for there are as many temples as dayes in the yeare, and euery temple hath his towre. Our men counted foure hundred towres. The men and women are of good disposition, wel sauoured, and very wittie.

The women are Goldsmithes and also Caruers, the men are warriors, and light fellows, and good maisters for any purpose: they goe better apparrelled then any other Indians yet seene. They weare for their vpper garment, clokes like vnto Poziscos, but after another sort. All the Countrey round about them is fruitfull and earable

able ground, well watered, and so full of people, that there is no wast ground, in respect whereof, there are some poze which begge from doze to doze. The Spaniards had not seene any beggers in that Countrey before they came thither.

Chololla is a citie of most deuotion and religion in all India, it is called the Sanctuarie or holy place among the Indians, and thither they travelled from many places far distant in pilgrimage, and for this cause there were so many temples.

Their Cathedrall Temple was the best and highest of all the new Spaine, with a hundred and twentie steps vp vnto it.

The greatest Idoll of all their Gods was called Quezalcouately, God of the aire, who was (say they) the founder of their Citie, being a Virgin of holy life, and great penance. He instituted fasting, and drawing of blood out of their eares and tongues, and left a precept, that they should sacrifice but onely Quailles, Doves, and other soule.

He neuer ware but one garment of Cotten, which was white, narrow, and long, and vpon that a mantle beset with certaine red crosses.

They haue certaine greene stones which were his, and those they keepe for reliques. One of them is like an Apes head. Here they abode twentie dayes, and in this meane while there came so many to buy and sell, that it was a wonder to see. And one of the things that was to be seene in those faires, was the earthen vessel, which was exceeding curious and fine.

The

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The hill called Popocatepec.



Here is a hill eight leagues frō Chololla, called Popocatepec, which is to say, a hill of smoke, for many times it casteth out smoke and fire. Cortes sent thither ten Spaniards, with many Indians, to carry their victuals, and to guide the in the way. The ascending vp was very troublesome, and full of craggie rocks. They approached so nigh the top, that they heard such a terrible noise which proceeded from thence, that they durst not go vnto it, for the ground did tremble and shake, and great quantitie of ashes which disturbed the way: but yet two of them who seemed to be most hardie, and desirous to see strange things, went vp to the top, because they would not returne with a sternelesse answer, and that they might not be accounted cowards, leaving their follovers behinde them, proceeding forwards. The Indians said, what mean these men for as yet neuer moztall man toke such a iourney in hand.

These two valiant fellows passed through the desert of Ashes, and at length came vnder a great smoke verie thicke, and standing there a while, the darkness banished partly away, and then appeared the vulcan, and concavities, which was about halfe a league in compasse, out of the which the ayre came abounding, with a great noise, verie shrill, and whistling, in such sort that the whole hill did tremble. It was to be compared vnto an oven where glasse is made. The smoke and heate was so great, that they could not abide it, and of force were constrained to returne by the way that they had ascended: but they were not gone farre, when the vulcan began to lash out flames

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of fire, ashes, and imbers, yea and at the last stones of burning fire : and if they had not chaunced to finde a rocke, wherevnder they shadowed themselves, undoubtedly they had there bene burned.

When with good tokens they were returned where they left their fellows, the other Indians kissed their garments as an honor due vnto gods. They presented vnto them such things as they had, and wondred much at their fact.

Those simple Indians thought, that that place was an Purgatory. infernall place, where all such as gouerned not well, or vsed tyrannie in their offices, were punished when they died, and also beloued, that after their purgation, they passed into glorie.

This Vulcan is like vnto the Vulcan of Cicilia, it is high and round, and neuer wanteth Snowe about it, and is sene a farre off in the night, it lasheth out flames of fire.

There is nere about this hil many cities, and Huexozinco is one of the mightiest.

In tenne yeares space this straunge hill of smoking did erpell no vapour or smoke : but in the yeare 1540. it beganne againe to burne, and with the horrible noise thereof, the neighbours that dwelt foure leagues from thence were terrified, for the especiall straunge smokes that then were sene, the like to their predecessors had not bene sene.

The ashes that proceeded from thence came to Huexozinco, Quelaxcopan, Tepiacac, Quauhquecholla, Chololla, and Tlaxcallan, which standeth tenne leagues from thence, yea some say, it extended fiftene leagues distant, and burned their hearbes in their gardens, their fields of cozne, trees, and cloathes that lay a drying.

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The consultation that Mutezuma had, concerning
the comming of Cortez into Mexico.



Ortez pretended not to fall out with Mutezuma, befoze his comming to Mexico, and yet hee understod all Mutezuma his pretence, whereupon he complaineth to the Ambassadors, saying, that hee much marvelled that such a mighty Prince, who by to many Gentlemen had assured his friendship unto him, should now procure his totall destruction, in not keeping his promise and fidelitie. In consideration whereof, where he meant to visite him as a friend, that now hee would goe to his Court as an enemy. The Ambassadors excused their maisters cause, beseeching him to withstand his furie, and to giue licence to one of them to go to Mexico, who would bring answer from thence with all speede.

Cortez graunted vnto the request, the one of them went, and returned againe within six dayes, in company of another messenger that had gone thither befoze, who broughte tenne platters of golde, and a thousande five hundred mantels of cotten, with much victuall, and Cacao, which is a kinde of fruit that serueth for currant money among them. Likewise they brought a certaine kind of wine or licoure made of Cacao and Centli. They enformed Cortes, that Mutezuma was innocent of the consultation in Chololla, nor by any meanes priuie to their dealings, affirming moreover, that the garrison of soldiers did appertaine to Acazinco, and Acazan, who were neighbours to Chololla, who by inducement of some naughty persons, had procured that thing, saying that he should both see and understand him to be his faithfull and loving friend,

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friend, praying him to come sozward on his iourney, soz he would abide his comming in Mexico.

This ambassage pleased well Cortes, but Mutezuma feared, when hee heard of the slaughter, and burning of Chololla, and said to his friends, these are the people that our Gods said should come and inherite this land.

Prophecie of
the Diuel.

Mutezuma went incontinent to his Dzatozie, and shut in himselfe alone, where he abode in fasting and prayer eight dayes, with sacrifice of many men, to assake the fury of his Idols, who seemed to be offended.

The voyce of the Diuell spake vnto him, bidding him not to feare the Chyistians, saying they were but selue, and when they were come, he should doe what he listed with them, willing him in no wise to cease from the bloudie sacrifice, least some mischance might happen vnto him. And assured him that he should haue the Goddes Virz-puchtli, and Tescatlipuca, to preserve and keep him. And because Quezalcouatl was agréued soz wante of bloudie sacrifice, hee permitted the straungers to punish them of Chololla. And Mutezuma hearing this diuellish Dzacle, and likewise Cortes hauing warned him that he would visite him as an enemy, he was by this persuasion of Sathan, the better willing to receiue him into Mexico.

Likewise Cortes whē he came to Chololla, was strong, and had at commaundement a mightie power, and there made himselfe stronger, the same whereof, was blowne abroad, throughout all the dominions of Mutezuma. And whereas the poze Indians had but only marvelled at their persons and furniture, now they beganne to tremble and to feare at his doings, so that wheresoever he came, they opened him the gates with pure feare, moze then soz any loue.

Mutezuma at the beginning, pretended to feare Cortes with

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An euil coun-
sellour.

with the fearefull passages and other perils and daunger, as the fortitude of Mexico, with his great multitude of subiects, and the great number of Princes that did both serue and obey him: and seeing that all these things prospered not, he thought to haue overcome him with gifts and treasure, knowing that he hadde required gold: yet he sawe that nothing woulde preuaile, for that Cortez woulde needs come to see him, whereupon, he took counsell of the Diuell what he should do in that case, upon which counsell hee was satisfied by his Priests and Captaines, that he ought not to warre against so fewe strangers, for if he so did, the dishonour woulde be his, and chiefly, because Cortez certified that he was an Ambassadour, and using him otherwise, it might so fall out, that his own subiects woulde rebel against him their Lord and Prince, saying likewise, that it was manifest that the Otomes and Tlaxcaltecas woulde fauour his side, and also many others, for to destroy and spoyle Mexico, upon which consultation it was openly proclaimed, that his will was that the strangers should enter into Mexico freely, thinking that if at any time they should displease him, to make a breakfast of them the next day.

Things that happened to Cortez in his
iourney to Mexico.

Cortez hauing so good an answer of the Ambassadors, he gaue licence to as many of the Indians his friends, as listed to depart home to their houses, and he likewise departed from Chololla, with some borderers that woulde needs follow him.

He

He left the way that the Mexicans had perswaded him to come, for it was both euill and dangerous, as the Spaniard which went to the vulcan had sene, he went another plainer way, and moze nearer. That way he trauelled but foure leagues, because he went to lodge in the villages of Huexozinco, wher he was friendly receiued, and they presented vnto him slaues, garments, and golde, although but little, for they are poore, by reason that Mutezuma hath enuironed them about, because they were of the parciality of Tlaxcallan. The next day in the morning he ascended by a hill conered with snow, which was fire miles of height, where if the 30000. souldiers had waited for them, they might easily haue take them, by reason of the great cold: and from the top of that hill, they discovered the land of Mexico, and the great lake, with his villages round about, which is an exceeding goodly sight. But when Cortes saw that beautifull thing, his ioy was without comparison, and he toke not so much pleasure, but some of his men feared as much, and there was a murmuratiō among them to returne backe againe, yea and like to haue bene a mutinie among them. But Cortes with his wisdom and dissimulation did pacifie the matter, with courage, hope, and gentle wordes, and they seeing that their Captaine at all assayes was the first himselfe, they feared the lesse the things that they imagined. And descending downe into the plaine, they found a great large house, sufficient for him and all his companie, with fire thousand Indians of Tlaxcallan, Huexozinco, & Chololla. And 8 seruants of Mutezuma made cotages of straw for the Tamemez or carriers, who were lade with the fardage, and bittailles: there was a good supper prepared for them, and great fires to warme them, and all things necessary. Thither came many principal persons from Mexico, to visite him, among whome was a kinsman of Mutezuma,

Oh wife
Cortez.

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tezuma, who presented vnto Cortes the value of thre thousand ducats in gold, and besought him to returne backe againe, and to haue consideration of the pouertie, hunger, and cull way, yea and to passe in little boats in danger of drowning. And as for tribute to be giuen to the Emperoz, a greater summe should be appointed, then though he went personally to Mexico, yea and that it should be paid at what place he would appoint. Cortes welcomed them, as reason did require, and presented vnto them haberdash toies, which they esteemed in much, & chiefly he did lovingly entertaine Mutezuma his kinsman, vnto whome he made this answer, saying, I would gladly serue and pleasure such a mightie prince as your soueraigne Mutezuma is if it lay in my handes without offence of the King my master: and concerning my going to Mexico, Mutezuma shall receiue both pleasure and honour, rather than otherwise, & after I haue talked with him, I wil sone returne, likewise hunger I feare not, neither yet doubt that I nor none of mine shall want, and so my passage on the water, I say it is nothing in comparison of two thousand leagues, which I haue sailed onely to come and visit him.

But yet for all this talke, if they had found him carelessse, they would haue pinched him as some doth say, for he gaue them to vnderstand, that he nor his men slept not by night, nor yet vnarmed themselves, yea, and also if it chanced the to finde in the night season any that were not of their company, they slue them out of hand, desiring him to aduise his men therof, least any of them should happen to fall into that danger, which would much grieue him, and with this fable they went all to take their rest.

The next day in the morning he proceeded forward and came to Amaquemecan which is 2. leagues from thence, and standeth in the prouince of Chalco, a town y contained 20000. householders. The Lord of that towne presented

to Cortez soztie women slanes, and 3000. Ducats in gold, with meat abundantly for two daies, & secretly made complaint vnto him of Mutezuma. And from thence he went to another town foure leagues frō thence, the half therof was built vpon the lake, and the other half vpon the land at the foot of a ragged hill. There went in his companie many subjects of Mutezuma for purueyors, but yet both they and the towtensmen would faine haue laid hands vpon the Spaniards, and euery night would send their spies to see what the Chyistians did, but the watch slue about twentie of them, where vpon the matter staied, and their pzetence toke no effect: sure it is a thing to laugh at, for at euery fancie they would proue to kill the, and yet they were not for the purpose. The next day in the moztning came twelue Lords from Mexico, among whom was Cacama, newely to Mutezuma, who was Lord of Tezcucō, a yong man of xxb. yeares of age, whom the Indians did much honour: he was carried vpon their shoulders, and when they set him downe, one went before with a broome to swaep the dust out of his way. These Gentlemen came to accompanie Cortes, excusing Mutezuma, saying that he was not well at ease, and therfore he came not personally to receiue him. And yet they intreated Cortes to returne back againe, and not to come vnto Mexico, giuing him to vnderstand by signs, that they would there displease him, and so defend the passage and entrance, a thing easie to be done, but they were either blinded, or else they durst not breake the caluwy. Cortes entertained the like noble men and gaue vnto them of his haberdash, and departed frō the towne w many graue personages, who carried with them a great traine, which filled vp the way well nigh as they should passe, wondzing at their beards, harness, apparell, horses and ordnance, saying to themselues, these be Gods. Cortes gaue them warning not to come among the horses

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among his men, so feare they would kill them. This he made them beleue because he would not haue his way stopped, so that the number of the was so great. They the came to a towne built vpon the water, of two thousand houses, and before they came thither, they had gone more then halfe a league vpon a faire Catwsey, which was twentie fote broad: the towne had faire houses and many towers: the Lord of the towne did receiue them wothshipfully, and prouided all things plentifully, desiring him to abide there that night, and secretly made complaintes against Mutezuma, of many wrongs and exactions done by him, and certified him, that from thence the way was very faire to Mexico, & all the like catwsey as he had passed. With this newes Cortes was very glad, so he meant to haue stayed there so to haue built Barkes and foyles, and yet he feared least they would breake y catwsey, wherefore he had alwayes a care ouer Cacama, who with the other Lordes desired him not to abide there, but to procede forward to Iztacpalapan, which was but two leagues off, and that the Lord thereof was another Renuel to Mutezuma. To admit their request he wet with them to that towne, and from thence to Mexico was but two leagues, the which the next day he might go at pleasure, and come timely into the citie, & in this order came to Iztacpalapan.

Euery two houres came messengers betwixte Cortes and Mutezuma: then came Cuetlauac Lord of that towne, with the Lord Culhuacan his kinsman to receiue him, who presented vnto him slaues, garments, and feathers, and to the valew of foure thousande Ducats in Golde. Cuetlauac receiued al the Spaniards into his owne house, which hath verie faire lodgings all of stone, and Carpenters worke, exceeding well wrought, with high & low rowmes, with all kind of seruice: The chambers were hanged with cloth of Gotten very rich, after their manner.

There

There were faire gardens replenished with many sweet
floures, and sweete trees garnished with netwozke, made
of Canes, and couered with roses and other fine hearbes,
with sundrie pondes of sweete water. There was an o-
ther garden very beautifull of all sortes of fruites and
hearbes, with a great ponde walled with lime and stone,
and was foure hundzeth paces square, made with faire
steppes to discende vnto the bottome in many places, and
was full of diuers kindes of fishes, and many kinde of
water birdes, which somtimes couered þ pond, as Gullcs,
Pewees, and such like. Iztacpallapan is a towne of 10000.
households, & is planted in a lake of salt water, the one halfe
of the towne built on the water, and the other on the land.

The Solemne pompe wherewith Cortes
was receiued into Mexico.



From Iztacpalapan to Mexico is two
leagues all vpon a faire Calley, vpon
the which eight hoysmen may passe
on ranke, and so directly straight as
though it had bene made by line. And
who soeuer hath god eiesight might
discerne þ gates of Mexico frõ thence.

Coyoacan is a towne of fire thousand
dwellers, Vizilopucheli is of five thousand. These townes
are planted in the lake, and are adoyned with many tem-
ples, whiche haue many faire towers, that doe beautifie
exceedingly the lake. There is great contractatiõ of walte,
which is made there, and from thence is carried abroad to
saieres and markets, which thing was a greate rente to
Mutezuma. Vpon this Calley are many drawne byldges
built vpon faire arches, that the water passeth through.

Cortes passed this calley with 400. Spaniards, & 6000.
Indians his friends: they: passage was with much ado, by

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reason

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reason of the great multitude of Indians which came to see him, & comming neer the citie, there abioyned another calley with a broad passage, where standeth a strong bulwarke of stone of the heighth of 2. fathom, with two towers on each side, and two gates very strong. Here at this fort came thre thousande Courtiers and Citizens to receive him, and every of them touched the ground with his right hand and kissed it, and passed forwards in the order as they came. These salutations endured an houre & more. From the bulwarke the calley lieth directly, and before the entrance into the strēte there is another bzaire brydge made of timber ten paces broad, vnder the which the water passeth to and fro. At this brydge came Mutezuma to receiue Cortez vnder a Canapie of grēne feathers & gold, with much argenterie hanging thereat, which Canapie foure noble men did carry. And the two pzinces Cuclauac and Cacama his newes, did leade him by each arme: all thre were rich apparelled & all of one fashion, except Mutezuma, which had a paire of shoes of gold beset with precious stones, and the soles were tied to the vpper parte with lacejets, as is painted of the Antikes. His gentlemen went by two and two, laying downe and taking vp mantels and couerlets vpon the ground, because his sate should not touch the same: then followed him as in procession, 200. noble men barefooted, with garments of a richer livery then the first thre thousand. Mutezuma came in the midst of the strēte, and the others came behinde him as nigh the wal as they mought, their faces towards the ground, for it was a great offence to looke him in the face. Cortez alighted from his horse, and acroding to our vse went to embrace him, but the Pzinces who led him by the armes would not suffer him to come so nigh, for they held it for sin to touch him, but yet saluted each one & other.

Cortez put about Mutezuma his necke a collar of *Paragaites*,

garites, Diamonds, & other stones all of glasse. Mutezuma receiued it thankfully, and went befoze with one of the pynces his newewes, and commaunded the other to leade Cortes by the hand, next after him in the midst of þ street: and proceeding foꝝward in this order, then came the Gentlemen in the richest linery to welcome him, one by one, touching the ground with their hands, and after returned to their standing. And if the Citizens had come as they requested, all that day would not haue serued foꝝ salutations. The collar of glasse pleased well Mutezuma, and because he would not take without giuing a better thing, as a great pynce, he commaunded to be brought two collers of redde pꝛaunes, which are there much esteemed, and at euery one of them hanged eight shrimpes of gold, of excellent woꝝkemanship, and of a finger length euery one, he put these collers with his owne handes about Cortes his necke, the which was esteemed a most great fauour, yea and the Indians marvelled at it. At this time they were come to the streete ende, which was almost a mile long, broad, straight, and very faire, and full of houses on eache side, in whose doꝝrs, windowes and tops, was such a multitude of Indians to behold the straungers, that I knowe not who wondered most, our men to see such a number of the m, or else they to see our men, their ordinance & hozes, a thing so strange vnto them. They were brought vnto a great court or house of idols, which was the lodging Axiaca, at the doꝝs whereof, Mutezuma toke Cortes by the hand, and brought him into a faire hall, and placed him vpon a rich carpet, saying vnto him, Sir now are you in your owne house, eate and take your rest and pleasure, foꝝ I will shortly come and visite you againe. Such (as you heare) was the receiuing of Hernando Cortez by Mutezuma a most mightie King, into his great and famous Citie of Mexico, the eight day of September, 1519.

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The Oration of Mutezuma to the
Spaniards.

The house where the Spaniards were lodged was great and large, with many faire chambers sufficient for them all: it was nete, cleane matted, and hanged with cloth of Cotton, and feathers of many colours, pleasant to behold. When Mutezuma was departed from Cortez, he began to sette his house in order, and placed the ordinance at his doze, & hauing all his things in good sort, he went to a sumptuous dinner that was prepared for him. As soone as Mutezuma had made an end of his dinner, hearing that the strangers were risen from the table, and reposed a while, then came he to Cortez, saluting him, and satte downe by him. He gaue unto him diuers tewels of gold plate, feathers, and many garments of Cotton, both riche, wel woven, and wrought of strange colours, a thing comely, that did manifest his greatnesse, and also confirme their imagination. His giste was deliuered honozable, and then began his talke as followeth: Lozde and Gentlemen, I doe much reioyce to haue among house such valient men as ye are; for to ble you with cortesse, and intreate you with honour, according to your deserte and my estate. And where heretofore I desired that you shoulde not come hither, the onely cause was, my people had a greate feare to see you, for your testure and grimme hardnes did terrifie them, yea, they reported that ye had such beastes as swallowed men, and that your coming was frō heauen, byinging with you lightning, thunder, & thunderbolts, wherewith you made the earth to treble and to shake, and that ye slew therewith whom ye pleased. But now I do see & know that you are mortal men, and that ye are quiet & hurt no man: also I haue sene your horses, which

which are but your seruants, and your Gumes like vnto shooting Trunkes. I doe now holde all for fables and lyes which haue bin reported of you, and I doe also accept you for my mere kinsman. My father tolde mee that hee had heard his forefathers say, of whome I doe discende, that they helde opinion holwe they were not naturals of this land, but come hither by chaunce, in companie of a mightie Lorde, who after a while that he hadde abode here, they returned to their naturall soile: After manie yeares expyed, they came againe for those whom they had left here behinde them, but they would not goe with them; because they had here inhabited, and hadde wiues and children, and great gouernment in the land. Forwe these mightie Lordes seeing that they were so stubbozne, and woulde not returne with them, departed from them soze displeased, saying, that hee woulde send his children that should both rule and gouerne them, in iustice, peace, and auncient Religion. And for this consideration, wee haue alwayes suspected and beléued, that such a people should come to rule and gouerne vs, and considering from whence you come, I doe thinke that you are they whome weloked for, and the notice which the great Emperour Charles had of vs, who hath now sent you hither. Therefor Lorde and Captaine, be well assured, that wee will obey you, if their be no feyned or deceitfull matter in your dealings, and will also diuide with you and yours all that wee haue. And although this which I haue sayde were not onely for your vertue, fame, and déedes of valiant Gentlemen, I would yet do it for your worthinesse in the battels of Tualco, Teocazinco, and Chololla, being so few, to overcome so many.

Nowe againe, if ye imagine that I am a God, and the walles and rofes of my houses, and all my bevell of seruice, to be of pure golde, as the men of Zempoallan, Tlax-

A strange
opinion.

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callan, and Huexozinco, hath enioyned you, it is not so, and I iudge you to be so wise, that you giue no credite to such fables. You shall also note, that througħ your cōming hitther, many of my subiects haue rebelled, and are become my mortall enemies, but yet I purpose to breake th:ir twings. Come seāle you my bodie, I am of flesh and bone, a mortall man as others are, and no God, although as a king I doe esteeme my selfe of a greater dignitie and prebeminence then others. My houses you doe also see, which are of timber and earth, and the principallest of Spāinis worke, therefore now you doe both knowe and see what orions liers those talebearers were. But troth it is, that gold plate, feathers, armour, iewels, and other riches, I haue in the treasure of my foresathers a long time preserved, as the vse of things is, all the which you and yours shall enioy at al times. And now it may please you to take your rest, so; I know that you are wearie of your iourney. Cortes with ioyfull countenance humbles himself, sūking some teares fall from Mutezuma his eies, saying vnto him, vpon the trust I haue had in your clemeencie, I insisted to come both to see, and talke with your highnesse, and nowe I know that all are lies which hath bene tolde me. The like your highnesse hath heard reported of vs, assure your selfe, that the Emperour King of Spaine is your naturall Lord, whom ye haue expected so; he is the onely heire from whence your linage both proceede, and as touching the offer of your highnesse treasure, I do most heartily thanke you.

After all this communication, Mutezuma demaunded whether the bearded men which came with him, were either his vassals, or his slaues, because he would entertaine each one according to his estate. Cortez answered, that they were all his brethren, friends, and fellows, except some that were his seruants.

Then

A louing answer.

the west India.

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Then he departed, and went home to his Pallace, and there infozmed himselfe particularly who were Gentlemen, and who were not, and accozding therevnto, sent euery one particular gift or present. To the Gentlemen he sent his reward by his Controller, and to the Parrimers and other seruitors, by a Page of his household.

The Maiessty and order, wherewith Mutezuma was serued.



Mutezuma was a man of a small stature, and lean, his colour tawny as all the Indians are. He had long haire on his head, six little hairens vpon him, as though they had bene put in with a bodkin. His thin beard was black. He was a man of a faire condition, and a doer of iustice, well spoken, graue and wise, beloued and feared among his subiects. Mutezuma both signified sadnesse.

As to the proper names of Kings and Lords, they do adde this sillible C. which is for curtesie and dignity, as we vse Lord. The Turk vseth Zukan. The Moze or Barbarian calleth his Lord Mulley, and so the Indians say Mutezumazin. His people had him in such reuerence, that he permitted none to sit in his sight, nor yet in his presence to weare shoes, nor looke him in the face, except verie few princes. He was glad of y conuersation of the Spaniards, and would not suffer them to stand on foote, for the great estimation he had of the, & if he liked any of the Spaniards garments, he would exchange his apparell for theirs,

He chaunged his owne apparel foure times euery day, and hee neuer cloathed himselfe againe with the garments which hee had once woyn, but all such were kept

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kept in his Guardrobe, for to giue in presents to his seruants and Ambassadors, and vnto valiant Souldiours which had taken any enemy prisoner, and that was esteemed a great reward, and a title of priuiledge.

The costly mantels whereof had bene diuerse sent to Cortes, were of the same Guardrobe,

Mutezuma went alwaies very nete and fine in his attire. He bathed him in his botehouse foure times euery day. He went seldome out of his Chamber, but when he went to his meate. He ate alwayes alone, but solemnely, and with great abundance. His table was a pillow, or else a couple of coloured skinned. His Chaire was a foure footed stole made of one peece, and hallowe in the middell, well wrought and painted. His table clothes, napkins, and towels, were made of Cotton wool, veris white and newe, for he was neuer serued but once with that naperie. Foure hundred Pages brought in his meate, all sonnes of great Lordes, and placed it vpon a table in his great Hall. The meate beeing brought in, then came Mutezuma to behold the dishes, and appoynted those dishes that liked him best, and chaffing dishes were prepared to keepe that meate warme, and seldome would eate of any other dish, except the Lord Steward or Controller should highly commend any other dish.

Before he sate downe, came twentie of his wiues of the sayest and best esteemed, or else those that serued weakely by turne, brought in the Basen and Cwer, with great humble nesse. This done, he sate him downe, and then came the Lord Steward, and drew a wooden nette before him, because none shoulde come nigh his Table. And this noble man alone placed the dishes, and also took them away, for the Pages who brought in the meate, came not neare the Table, nor yet spake any woode, nor no man else.

Whyle

While the Lord Mutezuma was at his meate, except some Jester, they all serued him barefooted. There assisted alwayes somewhat a farre off, five auncient and Noble men, vnto whome he vled to giue of the dish that best lyked him, who receined the same at his hand with great reuerence, and eate it incontinent, without looking in his face, which was the greatest humilitie that they coulde vse befoze him. He had musicke of fiddle, flute, and of a sonayle shell, and a Caudyon couered with a skinne, and such other straunge instruments. They had very euill voyces to sing. Alwayes at dinner time he had Dwarfes, crokebackes, and other deformed counterseits, all for maiestie and to laugh at, who had their meate in the Hall among the Jestors and Idiots, which were fed with part of the meate that came from Mutezuma his table, all the rest of the meat was giuen to thre thousand of the guard, who attended ordinarily in the yard or court, and therfoze they say that there was brought for his table thre thousand dishes, and as many pottes of wine, such as they vse, and that continually the Buttrey and Wantrey stood open, which was a wonder to see what was in them. The platlers, dishes, and cuppes, were all of earth, wherof the king was serued but once, and so from meale to meale new. He had likewise his seruice of gold and plate very rich, but he vled not to be serued with it, (they say) because he would not be serued twice therewith, the which he thought a base thing.

Some affirme, that yong children were slaine and dyessed in diuers kinde of dishes for Mutezuma his table, but it was not so, onely of mans flesh sacrificed bee fedde now and then. The table being taken by, then came againe the Gentlewomen to bying water for his hands, with the like reuerence as they vled at the first, and then went they to dinner with the other twines, so that then the Gentle-

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meir and pages waited as their course fell.

The footeplayers that plaied before
Mutezuma.



When his table was taken vp, and his seruitoꝝ gone to meate, Mutezuma sate still: then came in the suiters that hadde any affaires to deale with him, barefooted, for all the persons did vse that reuerence, excepte some Princes his kinsmen, as the Lords of Tescuco, and Flacopan, and a fewe others: and being cold weatheꝛ, they vsed to weare old ragged clothes vppon their rich garments. All suiters vsed to make thꝛe or four curtesses, not loking toward his face, and speaking vnto him their heads downewardes, and in that order retired backe againe. Mutezuma answered his suiters, be- ry grauely, with loue voice, and in fewe wordes, and not to all suiters, for others his secretaries or counsellers that stood by, answered for him, and hauing their answer, they retur- ned backewardes, not turning their talles to the pꝛince. After these busineses done, he vsed som recreatiõ, hearing Jesters or songs, wherein he delighted much, or else to loke vpon the plaiers, who play with their sate, as we do with our handes. These haue a cudgel like vnto a paskers rol- ler, which they tolle high & low as it wer a bal in the aire, strange to behold. They vse other plaies to passe þ time, in such an order, y it seemed maruellous to the lookers on. Cortez bzoughte into Spaine some of these players. Also they vse Marachines, in suche soꝛte they do play, that there stande eache vppon other shoulders, and he that standeth highest, the weth many seates. Sometime Mutezuma did beholde the players, who played at a game called Pa- coliztli,

colizli, which is muche like oure Tables, and they play with beanes, squared like dice, which they cal Patolli, and throw them out of both their hands vpon a matre, or else vpon the ground, where are made certaine strikes, vpon which they sette downe the chance that is throwne: and at this game they play all that they haue, and many times they balew their owne bodies, and playe that into captiuitie, and to remaine a slave, I meane such as are common gamesters of small estate.

The Tennis play in Mexico.



Sometimes Murezuma went to the Tennis Courts. Their ball is called Villamazli, and is made of the gum which cometh frō a tree called Vli. This tree groweth in a hote Countrey. The gumme being kned together, and so made round, is as blacke as pitch, and somewhat beaute, and very harde for the hande, but yet good and light to rebound, and better than our windballes. They play not at chases, but at bandie, or at check, that is, if the ball touch the wall it loseth. They may strike the ball with any part of their bodie, but there is alwaies a penaltie if they only strike not with the buttoke or side, which is the finest play: whereof they vse a skinne vpon each buttocke. They play so many to so many for a packe of mantels, or according to the abilitie of the players. Also they play for golde and feathers, and sometime for their owne bodyes, as they vse at Patolli, which is there permitted & lawfull. The Tennis Court is called Tlachco, and is a Hall long and narrow, but wider vpwards, then downewardes, and higher on the sides then at the ends, which is an industrie for their play. The house is alwaies white and smoth in the side walles: they haue certain stones like vnto millstones, wth a little hole in

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the middest that passeth through the stone, the hole is so small, that scarcely the ball may pass through, but he that chanceth to strike the ball into the hole, which sildom happeneth, winneth the game, and by an auncient lawe and custome among Tennis players, he ought to haue the cloakes of all those that stand and behold the play, on that side that the ball went in, and in some Tennis Courtes, the halfe of the garments of them that stand looking on. The winner is then bounde to make certaine sacrifice to the God of the Tennis play, and to the stone where the ball entred. The beholders of the play would say, that such a winner should bee a thefe and an adulterer, or else that he should die quickly.

They vsed in the Temple of the Tennis play, two Images of the God of the ball, which stood vpon the two lower walles. The Sacrifice was celebrated at midnight, with many Ceremonies and Witchcrafts, and songes for that purpose. Then came a Priest from the Cathedrall Church, with other Religious persons to blesse the Sacrifice, saying certaine diuellish prayers, and throwing the ball foure times in the Tennis Court. In this order was the Tennis play consecrated, and after this consecration it was lawfull to play, or else not, for this diligence was first to bee done when any Tennis Court or play was newly built.

The owner of the Tennis Court also would neuer suffer any to play, vntill he had first offered something to the Idoll, their superstition was so great.

Mutezuma brought the Spaniards to behold this pastime, and gaue them to vnderstand, that hee delighted much in this game, and also to see our men play at Cardes and Dice.

The

The number of wiues that Mutezuma
had in his house.



Mutezuma had many houses as well in Mexico as without, for his recreation and pleasure, as also for his ordinarie dwelling. To write of all it should be tedious, but where his continuall abiding was, he named Tepac, that is to say, palace. And that pallace had twentie doores or gates whiche had their outcomming into the common streets.

It hath thre courtes, and in the one standeth a fayre fountaine, many halles, and a hundred chambers of twentie thre, and thirtie fote long, an hundred bathes and botheuses: and although the building was without nailes yet very good worke manship.

The walles were made of masons worke, and wrought of Marble, Jasper, and other blacke stone, with vaines of redde, like unto rubies and other stones, which glistered very faire: the Rooffes were wrought of Timber, and curiously carued: the Timber was Cedar, Cipers, & Pine: the chambers were painted and hung with cloth of cotten, and cloth made of Conneis haire and feathers. The beddes were poxe and of no balewe, for they were nothing but Pantels laide vpon mattes, or vpon Bay, or else mattes alone: fewe men lay within those houses.

There were a thousande women, and some affirme that there were thre thousand, accounting gentlewomen, seruants and slaues: the most were noble mens daughters, Mutezuma toke of them for his selfe, those that liked him best, and the others he gaue in marriage to Gentlemen his seruants.

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The saying was, that he had at one time a hundreth and fiftie women his wiues with childe, who through the perswasion of the diuel, toke medicines to cast their creatures, because they knew that they should not inherit the state; these his wiues, had many olde women for their Guard, so; no man was permitted to looke vpon them.

The shield of armes that is set in his Pallace, and likewise carried to the warres, is an Eagle sitting vpon a Rocke his talants bent as taking pray. Some thinke it is a Gryphon and not an Eagle. The Gryphons in time past, say they, did cause the vale of Auacatlan to be vispeopled, so; they were great deuourers of men, and that their abiding was in the Mountaines of Teoacan: they appoyne that these Mountaines were called Cuiclatchepelt, of Cuiclatcheli, which is a Gryphon, bigger then a Lion: but the Spaniards did neuer see any of them.

The Indians by their old Pictures do paint those Gryphons to haue a kinde of haire and no feathers, and also affirme, that with their talandes and teethe they bzeake mens bones. They haue the courage of a Lion, and the countenance of an Eagle: they painte him with foure feete, and teeth, with a kind of downe, moze like wooll then feathers, with his beake, talandes, and wings.

And in all those things the picture agreeth with our painting and writing, in such sort that a Gryphon is no approued naturall foule, nor yet beast. Plinie iudgeth this tale of Gryphons to bee lies. There are also other Lozas that giue the Gryphon in their armes, sitting with a heart in his talandes,

A house

A house of Foule, which were onely preferred
for their feathers.



Vtezuma has another house, with very good lodgings and faire galleries, built vpon pillers of Jaspe, which extendeth toward a goodly garden, in the which there are tenne pondes or moe, some of salt water for sea foule, & other some of fresh water for riuer foule and lake foule, which pondes are denised with sluices to emptie and to fill at their pleasure, for the cleannesse of the feathers. There is such a number of foule that scarcely the pondes may hold them, and of such diuers kindes both in feathers and making, as sure it was an admiration for the Spaniards to behold, for the most of them they knew not, nor yet had at any time sene the like. And to euery kinde of foule they gave such bayte as they were wont to feede of in the fields or Riuers. There did belong to that house thre hundred persons of seruice: some were to cleanse the pondes: other some did fish for bayte: other some serued them with meate: other did looke them and trimme their feathers: others had care to looke to their egges: others to set them abroad: others cured them when they were sicke: and the principallest office was to pluck the feathers: for of them was made rich Mantels, Tapisary, Wargats, tusses of Feathers, and many other things wrought with Gold and Silver: a most perfite worke.

A house

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A house of foule for hawking and other
straunge things.



There is another house with large quarters and lodgings, which is called a house for foule, not because there are moze then in the other, but because they be bigger and to hanke withall, and are foule of rapine, wherfoze they are esteemed as moze nobler then all the others.

There are in this house many high halles, in the which are kept menne, women and Childzen: in some of them are kept suche as are bozne white of colour whiche doth very seldome happen: in other some are dwarfes, crooked backs, burstenmen, counterfaites, and monstrous persons, in greate number: they say that they bled to deosome them when they were Childzen, to sette forth the kings greatnesse: every of these persons were in severall Halles by themselves.

In the lower Halles were greate Cages made of Timber: in some of them were Lions, in other Tigers, in other Owyes, in others Wolves: in conclusion, there was no foure footed beaste that wanted there, onely to the effect that the mightie Mutezuma might say that he had such things in his house.

They were fed with their ordinarie, as Cinea cockes, Deare, Dogges, and such like.

There was also in other Halles great earthen vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherein were snakes, as grosse as a mans thigh, Tippers, Crocodzilles, which they call Caymanes, or Lizarts of twenty fote long, with such Scales and head as a Dragon bathe: Also other little Lizartes, and other venemous beastes and Serpents

Serpentes as well of the water as of the lande, a terrible sight for the lookers on.

There were also other Cages for soules of rapine of all sortes, as Hawks, Hightes, Boyters, and at the least nine or ten kind of Hawks. This house of soule had of dayly allowance five hundred Gynea cockes, and three hundred men of seruice, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which are infinite. There were many other sortes of Fowles that our men knewe not, which seemed by theyr beake and talents good to Hauke withall.

To the Snakes and other veremous beastes they gave the bloude of men sacrificed, to feede them, and some say they gave vnto them mannes flesh, whiche the great Lisarts doe eat very well. The Spaniards salve the floure couered with blond like a tealy in a slaughter house, it stunke horribly.

It was straunge to see the officers in this house bove every one was occupied. Our men toke great pleasure in beholdinge such strange things, but they coulde not ataye with the roaring of the Lyons, the fearefull hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the howling and barking of the Wolves, the howling and barking of the Wolves, the howling and barking of the Wolves, when they would haue meate.

At the certaine, in the nighte season it seemed a Dungeon of Hell, and a dwelling place of the Demill, and euen so it was in dede, for neare at hande was a Hall of a hundred and fiftie fote long, & thirtie fote broad, where was a Chappel with the Roofe of silver and golde in lease waincotted, and decked with greates store of pearle and stone, as Hyattes, Cornelians, Emeralves, Rubies, and diuers other sortes, and this was the Place where Mutezuma prayed in the nighte season,

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and in that chappell the diuell did appeare vnto him; and gave him answer according to his prayers.

He had other houses like vnto Barnes, onely for the feathers of fowles, and for mantels which proceeded of his rentes and tributes, a thing much to bee sene: vpon the doores was set his armes, which was a Connie.

Here dwelled the chiefe officers of his house, as Treasurer, Controller, Receiuers and other officers appertaining to the Kings reuenues. Mutezuma had no house wherein was not an *Mattozo* for the diuel, whome they worshipped for the Jewels there. And therfore those houses were great and large.

The Armory of Mutezuma



Mutezuma had some houses of Armes, vpon the doores whereof stood a bowe and arrowes. In these houses was great store of all kinde of *Spuntion* whiche they vse in their warres: as Bowes, Arrowes, Slings, Lances, Darts, Clubbes, Swords and Bucklers; and gallant Targettes more trimme their strong; Skulles and Splintes; but not many, and all made of wood, gilt: or covered with leather. The wood whereof they make their Armour and Targettes, is very hard and strong, for they vse to cast it at the fire, and at their arrowe endes they encloseth little piece of hart stone, for a peece of a fish bone called *Labis*, and that is venomous, for if any bee hurt therewith and the head remaine in the wounde, it so fasteneth, that it is almost incurable.

Their

They swoodes are of Iowde; and the edge thereof is flint stone, enclosed or ioyned into a staffe, with a certaine kinde of glewe which is made of a roote called Zacoit, and Texcalh, which is a kinde of strong sande, whereof they make a mixture, and after kneade it with blood of Batres or Beare mice; and other fowle, which both glewe marvellous strong, and lightly neuer vnclaweth; of this stuffe, they make nayles, pearcers, and augers; wherewith they boze timber and stone: with their swoodes they cut speares, yea and a horse necke at a blow, and make dents into iron, which seemeth a thing vnpossible and intredible.

In the Citie no man may weare weapon, but onely in warres, hunting, and among the Kings Guard.

The Gardens of Mutezuma.



As does the foresaide houses, hee had many others for his onely recreation and pastime, with excellent faire Gardens of medicinal hearbes, sweete floures, and trees of delectable saour, whiche were many, and a thing to giue praise to God the maker & Creator of all.

In that Garden were a thousand personages, made and wrought artificially of leaues and flowers.

Mutezuma would not permitte that in this Gardelaine should be any kinde of pottle hearbes, or things to bee sold saying, that it did not appertaine to things to haue thinges of profite, among their delightes and pleasures,

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for such things (saide he) did appertaine to Merchants,

Yet notwithstanding he had Orchards with many and sundry fruites, but they stode farre from the Cittie, and whither seldome times hee went: hee had likewise out of Mexico pleasant houses in wooddes and forrestes, of great compasse, environed with water, in the which he had fountaines, riuers, pondes with fishe, warrandes of Cornies, rockes and couert where were Harts, Bucks, Hares, Foxes, Wolues, and such like, with wildernesse for every sort.

To these places the Loyds of Mexico used to goe and sport themselves, such and so many were the houses of Mutezuma, wherein fewe things were equall with him.

The Court and Garde of Mutezuma.



He had daily attending vpon him in his priue Garde, five hundred Noble men and Gentlemen, and each of them thre or foure seruants, and some had twentie seruants as was, according to his estate: and in this manner he had thre thousande men attendant in his Court, and some affinne more, all the which were fedde in his house of the meate that came from his table.

The serving men alwayes abode belowe in the Court all the day, and went not from thence till after Supper.

It is to bee thought that his Quard was the greater, because the straungers were there, although in effect of truth it is most certaine, that all the Loydes that are vnder the Mexicall Empire (as they say) are thirtie persons of high estate, who are able to make each of them a hundred thousand men. There are thre thousand Loydes of Colonnes, who haue many vassals.

These noble men did abide in Mexico certaine times of the yeare, in the Court of Mutezuma, and could not depart from thence without especiall licence of the Emperour, leauing each of them a son or brother behind them for securitie of rebellion, and for this cause they had generally houses in the Citie: such and so great was the Court of Mutezuma,

The great subiection of the Indians
to their king.



Here is not in all the dominions of Mutezuma any subiect that payeth not tribute vnto him. The noble men pay their tribute in personal seruice. The husbandmen called Maceualtin, with body and goods. In this sort they are either tenants, or else heires to their possessions. Those which are heires, doe pay one third part of all their fruite and commodities that they doe reape or bring vp, as dogs, hennes, foule, conies, golde, siluer, stones, salt, ware, homie, mantels, feathers, cotten, and a certaine fruit called Cacao, that serueth for money, and also to eat. Also all kinde of graine, and garden herbes, and fruites, whereof they doe maintaine themselves.

The Tenants doe pay monethly, or yearly, as they

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can agree, who because their tribute is great, they are called slaves, for when they may haue licence to eate egges, they thinke it a great fauour. It was reported that they were taxed what they should eate, and all the residue was taken from them. They went verie poorly clothed, and the most of their treasure was in earthen pottes, wherein they boiled their hearbes, a couple of Opil stones to grinde their Coyne, and a matte to lie vppon. They did not onely pay this rent, and tribute, but also serued with their bodies at all times when the great King should commaund. They were in such great submission to their prince, that they durst not speake one word although their daughters should be taken from them to be used at their pleasure. It was reported that of euerie thre sons, they deliuered one to be sacrificed, but that report was false, for if it had bene true, the towines had not bin so replenished with people as they were: and also the noble men did not eate mans flesh, but onely of those which were sacrificed, and they were slaves or prisoners taken in the warres. Assuredly they were cruell butchers, and slue yearely for that bloody sacrifice many men, and some children, but not so many as was reported. All the aforesaide rentes they brought to Mexico vpon their backs, and in boates, I meane so much as was necessaris for the prouision of the house and Court of Muxezuma, all the residue was spent among Souldiers, and bartred for golde, plate, precious stones, and other rich Jewels, esteemed of Princes, all the which was brought to the treasure. In Mexico was large and great barnes and houses to receiue and kepe the coyne for prouision of the Citie, with officers, and vnderofficers, who did receiue the same, and kept account thereof in booke of painted figures.

Also in euerie Towne was a receiuer, who bare in
his

his hand a roabe or abush of feathers, and those gave up their accounts in Mexico. If any such had bene taken with deceite and falshood, death was his reward, yea and his hinced punished with penalties, as of a liuage of a traitor to his Prince. The Quichimans if they paid not well their tribute, were apprehended for the same, and if they were found to bee poze thzough sicknesse and infirmittie, then they were home withall, but if they were found to be lazie and slothfull, they should be liden accordingly: but in conclusion, if they paid it not at a day appointed, then they should bee sold for slaves to pay their debt, or else be sacrificed.

There were many other prouinces, which paid a certaine portion, and rekuishedged seruice; But this tribute was moze of honour then profite. In this sozt Murezuma had moze then sufficient to pzouide his house and warres, and to heape vp great stuze in his treasure. Howeouer, he spent nothing in the buildings of his houses, for of long time he had certaine tolnes that payd no other tribute, but onely to worke and repaire continually his houses and their stone proper cost, and paid all kinde of workemen carrying upon their backs, or drawing in sledges, stone, lime, timber, water, and all other necessaries for the worke. Likewise they were bound to pzouide at the fire, wood that should be spent in the court, which was a great thing, and did amount to 2300 hundred weight a day, which was fize hundred mens burthens, and some dayes in the winter much moze. And for the Kings Chimneys they brought the barke of like trees, which was best fittesed for the light thereof, for they were great, soze rers: Murezuma had 100, cities with the in pzoquence, of whom he receiued rentes, tributes, and passage, where he maintained garrison of soldiers, and had treasurers in each of them.

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His dominion did extend from the North sea to the South sea, and 600. miles in longitude within the main land, although in very deed there were some colonies, as Tlaxcallan, Mechuacan, Panuco, and Tecoauepec, which were his own Indians, and payed him neither tribute nor service: but yet the ransome was much, when any of them was taken.

All these were other kings and noble men, as of Texcotto, Tlaxcopan, which were not in subiection vnto him, but onely in homage and obedience; for they were of his own lineage, vnto which Moctezuma married his daughters.

The situation of Mexico, as it is called, was in the middle of the land, and was a city of 60. thousand houses.

MEXICO at the time when Cortez entered, was a city of 60. thousand houses. The kings house, & other noble mens houses were great, large, and beautiful; the others were small and roynall, without either balcons or windowes: and although they were small, yet there dwelled in some of them, two, three, yea, and ten persons, by reason whereof, the Citie was wonderfully replenished with people.

This Citie is built vpon the water, even in the same order as Venice. All the houses of the Citie standeth in a great large lake of water. There is three sortes of streets built vpon the lake, the one sorte are onelie of water, with many bridges: an other sorte of onely earth: and the third of earth and water: that is to say, the one halfe earth to walke vpon, and the other halfe for Boates to bring provision of all sortes. These streets are kept alwayes afloat, and the most part of the houses haue two boyes, the one toward the catways, and the other toward the water, at the which they take Boate to goe where

where they list. And although this Citie is founded by
pon water, yet the same water is not good to drinke,
whereof there is brought by conduit water from a place
called Capultepec, three miles distant fro the Citie, which
springeth out of a little hill, at the foote whereof standeth
two Statues or covered Images wrought in stone, with
their Targettes and Lances, the one is of Mutezuma,
and the other of Axaiaca his father.

The water is brought from thence in two pipes or
Canalls in great quantitie, and when the one is foule,
then all the water is conueied into the other, till the first
be made cleane. From this fountaine all the whole Citie
is provided, so that they goe selling the same water from
strate to strate in little boates, and doe paye a certaine
tribute for the same.

This Citie is deuided into two strates, the one was
called Tlatchulco, that is to say, a litle Iland, and the other
Mexico, where Mutezuma his dwelling and court was,
and is to be interpreted a spring. This strate is the fairest
and most principall, and because of the Kings Palace
there, the Citie was named Mexico, although the old and
first name of the Citie was Tenuchticlan, which doth sig-
nifie fruite out of stone, for the name is compounded of
Tetl, which is, stone, and Nucheli, which is fruite, called
Cuba, Tunas. The tree that beareth this fruite, is named
Nopal, and is nothing almost but leaues of a scabroade
and round, and three ynches thicke, some moze, and some
lesse, according to the growth, full of thornes which are
venemous: the leafe is greene, and the thorne or picke
rustet. After that is planted, it encreaseth, growing
leafe unto leafe, and the foote thereof commeth to be as
the bodie of a tree, and one leafe dothe onely produce
another at the pointe, but at the sides of the same leaues
proceedeth other leaues: And because here in Spaine is

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of the same trees and fruite, it needeth no further description.

In some prouinces where water is scante, they vse to drinke the iuice of these leaues. The fruite thereof called Nucheli, is like vnto figges, and euen so bathe his little kernels or graines within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned like vnto a Pedler. There are of them of sundrye coloures, some are graine without, and Carnationlike within, which haue a good taste. Others are yellowe, and others white, and some speckled: the best sort are the white: it is a fruite that will last long.

Some of them tasteth of peares, and other some of Grapes: it is a colde and a fresh fruite, and best esteemed in the beate of Sommer. The Spaniardes doe moze esteeme them then the Indians. The moze the ground is laboured where they growe, the fruite is so muche the better.

There is yet another kinde of this fruite rebbe, and that is nothing esteemed, although his tast is not euill, but because it dothe coloure and dye the eaters mouth, lippes, and apparell, yea and maketh his vyne loke like pure blond. Many Spaniardes at their first coming into India, and eating this fruite, were in a maze, and at their wittes ende, thinking that all the blond in their bodies came out in vyne: yea and manye Whisitions at theyr first comming were of the same heliefe: for it hath hap-pened, when they haue bin sent for vnto such as haue eaten this fruite, they not knowling the cause, and beholding the vyne, by and by they ministred medecine to saunche blond: surely a thing to laugh at, to see the Whisitions so deceived. Of this fruite Nucheli and Terl, which is a stone, is compounded Tenuchelitan. When this Citie was begunne to be founded, it was placed nere vnto a greate stone that stode in the middell of the lake, at the
fote

foote whereof grewe one of these Nopal trees, and there
foze Mexico giueth for armes and deuise the foote of a
Nopal tree springing from a stone, according to the Ci
ties names.

Others doe affirme, that this Citie hath the name
of his first founder, called Tenuch, being the seconde sonne
of Iztacmixcoatl, whose sonnes and descendentes did first
inhabite this lande of Ananac, called nowe newe
Spaine.

Whosoether the opinions are, certaine it is that the
situation is called Tenuchditan, and the dwellers there
Tenuchca Mexico.

Mexico is as much to say, as a spring or fountaine, ac
cording to the propertie of the bowell and speech.

Others doe affirme, that Mexico hath his name of a
more auncient time, whose first founders were called
Mexiti, for vnto this day the Indian dwellers in one strate
of this city are called of Mexica. The Mexiti toke name
of their principallest Idoll called Mexich, who was in as
greate veneration as Vitzilopuchli, God of the warre.

Mexico is enuironed with swete water, and hath
thre waies to come vnto it by calley, the one is from
the West, and that calley is a mile and a halfe long.
Another from the North, and containeth thre miles
in length. Eastwarde the Citie hath no entrie. But
Southwarde the Calley is fye miles long, which was the
way that Cortez entred into the Citie.

The lake that Mexico is planted in, although it se
meth one, yet it is two, for the one is of water saltishe,
bitter, and pestiferous, and no kinde of fishe liueth in it.
And the other water is wholesome, good and sweet, and
bringeth forth small fishe.

The salte water ebbeth and floweth, according

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to the winde that bloweth. The swete water standeth higher, so that the good water falleth into the euill, and reuerteth not backward, as some hold opinion. The salt lake containeth fiftene miles in breadth, and fiftene in length, and more then five and forty in circuite, and the lake of swete water containeth euē as much, in such sort, that the whole lake containeth more then thirtie leagues, and hath about fiftie towneſes ſituated round about it, many of which Townes doe contraine five thousand houſholdes, and ſome tenne thouſande, yea and one Towne called Tezcuco, is as bigge as Mexico. All this lake of water ſpringeth out of a mountaine that ſtandeth within ſight of Mexico. The cauſe that the one part of the lake is brackiſh or ſaltiſh, is, that the bottome of ground is all ſalt, and of that water great quantite of ſalt is daily made.

In this great lake are aboue two hundredeth thouſande little boates, which the Indians call Acalles, and the Spaniards call them Canoas, according to the ſpeech of Cuba and Santo Domingo, wrought like a kneading trough: ſome are bigger then other ſome, according to the greatneſſe of the bodie of the tree whereof they are made. And where I number two hundred thouſand of theſe boates, I ſpeake of the leaſt, for Mexico alone hath aboue fiftie thouſande ordinarily to carry and bring vnto the Citie, victuall, provision, and paſſengers, ſo that on the market day all the ſtreets of water are full of them.

The Market place of Mexico.

The Market is called in the Indian tongue Tlanquitzli: every pariſh hath his Market place to buy and ſell in: but Mexico, and Tlatelulco onely, which are the chiefest Citties, haue great faires and

and places fit for the same, and especially Mexico hath one place where most dayes in the yeare is buying and selling, but euery fourth day is the great Market ordinarily: and the like custome is vsed throughout the dominions of Mutezuma.

This place is wide and large, compassed round about with doores, and is so great, that a hundred thousand persons come thither to choppe and change, as a Citie most principall in all that region. Wherefore the resort is from farre parties vnto that place. Euery occupation and kind of merchandise hath his proper place appointed, which no other may by any means occupie or disturbe. Likewise persons wares haue their place accordingly, (that is to say) Stone, timber, lime, bricke, and all kinde of stuffe brought, being necessarie to build withall. Also mattes both fine and coarse of sundrie workmanship, also coles, woodde, and all sortes of earthen vessell, glazed and painted very curiously: Deare skinner both raw and tanned in haire and without haire, of manie colours, for Thomasers, Bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lining of wooden Cozelets: also skinner of other beastes and foule in feathers readie dyessed of all sortes, the colours and straungenesse thereof was a thing to beholde. The richest merchandise was Salt, and mantels of Cotten wolle of diuerse colours, both great and small, some for beddes, others for garments and clothing, other for Tapisserie to hang houses, other Cotten cloth for lining breeches, Shirts, table clothes, towels, napkins, and such like things.

There were also mantels made of the leaues of the tre called Metl, and of Palme tre, and Cony haire, which are wel esteemed, being very warme, but conerlets made of feathers are the best: they sell threede made of Conie haire, peeces of linnen cloath made of Cotten wolle, also

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shaines of threede of all colours : also it is straunge to see the great stoze of poultrie that is bzought to that market. And although they eate the flesh of the soule, yet the feathers serue for cloathing, mixing one sort with another. There are of these soule so many sortes and severall colours that I cannot number them : some wilde, some tame, some water soule, and other some of rapine. All the bzauerie of the market, is the place where golde and feathers ioyntly wzought is solde, for any thing that is in request is there lively wzought in gold and feathers, and gallant colours. The Indians are so expert and perfect in this science, that they will worke or make a Butterflie, any wilde beast, trees, roses, flowers, hearbes, rootes, or any other thing, so lively, that it is a thing maruellous to behold. It hapneth many times that one of these worke-men in a whole day will eate nothing, onely to place one feather in his bew perfection, turning and tossing the feather to the light of the Sunne, into the shade or darke place, to see where is his most naturall perfection, and till his worke be finished he will neither eate nor drinke. There are few nations of so much steame or sufferance. The Art or science of Goldsmiths, among them is the most curious, and verie good workmanship engrauen with toles made of flint, or in moulde. They will cast a platter in moulde with eight corners, and euery corner of severall mettall, that is to say, the one of golde, and the other of siluer, without any kinde of solder : they will also found or cast a little caldron with lose handles hanging thereat, as we vse to cast a Bell : they will also cast in mould a fish of mettall with one scale of siluer on his back, and another of gold : they will make a Parret or Popinjay of mettall, that his tongue shall shake, and his beade moue, and his wings flutter : they wil cast an Ape in mould, that both hands and feet shall stir, and hold a spindle in his hand

hand seeming to spinne, yea and an apple in his hand, as though he would eat it. Our Spaniards were not a little amazed at the sight of these things. For our Goldsmiths are not to be compared vnto them. They haue skill also of Amell worke, and to set any p̄cious stone. But now as touching the markette, there is to sell, Golde, Siluer, Copper, Leade, Latton, and Tinne, although there is but little of the thre last mettels mentioned. There are Pearles, P̄cious stones, diuerse and sundrie sortes of Shelles, and Bones, Spunges and other pedlers ware, which certainly are many and straunge sortes, yea, and a thing to laugh at their Haberdash toys & trifles. There are also many kind of hearbes, rootes, and seeds, as well to be eaten, as for medicine, for both men, women, and children, haue great knowledge in hearbes, for through pouertie and necessitie, they seake them for their sustentance and helpe of their infirmities and diseases. They spend little among Physicians, although there are some of that Arte, and manie Poticaries, who doe bring into the market, oymments, sirops, waters, and other drugges, fit for sicke persons: they cure all diseases almost, with hearbs, yea, as much as for to kill lice, they haue a proper hearbe for the purpose.

The seuerall kindes of meates to be selde, is without number, as Snakes without head and taile, little Dogs gelt, Poules, Kattes, long wormes, Lice, yea, and a kinde of earth, for at one season in the yeare they haue Pettes of maile, with the which they rake vp a certaine dust that is bredde vpon the water of the lake of Mexico, and that is kneaded together like vnto oas of the sea: they gather much of this vittaille, & keep it in heaps, and make therof cakes like vnto byickbats: they sell not onely this ware in y^e market, but also send it abroad to other faires & markets a far off: they eat this meat wth as good stomacks

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as wee eate chése, yea and they holde opinion that this skum of fatnesse of the water, is the cause that such great number of foule commeth to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite.

They sel in this market venison by quarters of whole, as Does, Hares, Conies, and Dogges, and many other beastes, which they bring by for the purpose, and take in hunting. There are a great number of shoppes that sell all kinde of offall and tripes. It is a wonder to see how so much meate readie dyessed could be spent. There is also flesh and fish roasted, boyled, and baked, Pies and Custards made of diuerse sortes of egges: the great quantitie of bread is without number. Also cozne of all sortes threthed, and vnthrethed. The great store of sundrie kindes of fruites is maruellous, which are there solde, both gréene and ripe: there is one sort as bigge as Almondes called Cacao, which is both meate and currant money. There are diuerse kinde of colours to bee solde, which they make of roses, floures, fruits, barkes of trees, and other things verie excellent: they sell their Honie of sundrie kinds, oile of Chian, made of a séde like vnto muscarde séde, and oynting any painted cloath therewith, the water can not hurt it, they also dyesse therewith their meate, although they haue both butter and larde. Their sundry sortes of wines shalbe declared in another place: it would bee a prodigious thing to rehearse all the things that are to bee solde in that market. There are in this faire many artificers, as Packers, Barbers, Cutlers, and many others, although it was thought that among these Indians were none such. All the things recited, and many others which I speake not of, are sold in euery market of Mexico, all the sellers pay a certaine summe for their shops or standings to the king, as a custome, and they to be preserved and defended from theues: and for that cause there

there goe certaine Sergeants or officers by & to the market to espie out malefactours. In the middlest of the market standeth a house whiche may be sene throughout the sayde, & there sitteth twelue annient men for iudges to dispatch lawe matters: their buying and selling is to chaunge one ware for another, as thus, one giueth a hen for a bundell of Maiz, other giue mantels for salte, or money whiche is Cacao, and this is their order to choppe and chaunge: they haue measure and strike for all kinde of coyne, and other earthen measures for Honey and Wine, and if any measure be falsified, they punish the offenders, and bryake their measures.

The great Temple of Mexico.



The Temple is called Teucalli, that is to say, Gods house, Teuc, signifieth God, and Calli is a house, a bowell very fitte, if that house had bene of the true God. The Spaniards that vnderstand not the language, do pronounce and call those Temples Cues, and the God Vitzilopucheli, Vchilobos. There are in Mexico many parish churches, with towres, wherein are Chappels and Altars where the images and idols do stand, and those chappels do serue for buriall places of their soulers, that the Parishners are buried in the churchyard. All their temples are of one fashion, therefore it shall be now sufficient to speake of the cathedra church. And euen as those temples are all in generall of one making in that citie, I doe beleue that the like was neuer sene nor heard of. This temple is square, and doth containe euery way as much ground as a crossebow can reach leuell: it is made of stone, with foure dozes that abutteth vpon the thre calles, and vpon another parte of the citie, the hath no cal-

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sey but a faire strét. In the midd of this Quadern standeth a mount of earth and stone, square likewise, and fiftie sadome long euery way, built upward like vnto a pyramide of Egypt, sauing the top is not sharpe, but plain and flat, and ten sadom square: vpon the west side, were steps vp to the toppé, in number an hundzeth and fourténe, which béeing so many, high, and made of good stone, did scéme a beautifull thing. It was a straunge sight to behold the Priestes, some going vp, and some downe with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Vpon the toppé of this Temple are two great Altars, a good space distant the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or bymme of the wall, that scarcely a man mought go behinde them at pleasure. The one Altar standeth on the right hand, & the other on the left, they were but of fise fote high, each of them had the backe part made of stone, painted with monstrous and foule figures, the Chappell was faire and well wrought of spafons work and timber, euery chappel had thre lofts, one aboue another, sustained vpon pillers, and with the height thereof it shewed like vnto a faire towér, and beautified the Citie a farre off: from thence a man mought see all the Citie and townes rounde aboute the lake, which was vntoubtedly a goodly prospect. And because Cortes & his company should see the beantie thereof, Mutezuma brought him thither, and shewed him all the order of the Temple, euen from the fote to the toppé. There was a certaine plot or space for the idoll priestes to celebrate their service without disturbance of any. Their generall prayers were made toward the rising of the sun. Vpon each altar standeth a great idoll. Beside this towér that standeth vpon the pyramide, there are fourtie towérs great & small belonging to other little temples which stand in the same circuite, the which although they were of the same making, yet their prospect was not westward, but other,

other wayes, because there should be a difference betwixt the great temple and them. Some of these temples were bigger then others, and euery one of a seuerall God; among the which there was one round Temple dedicated to the God of the ayre, called Quicalcouatl, for euery as the aire goeth round about the heauens, euen so that consideration they made his temple round. The entrance of that Temple had a doore, made like vnto the mouth of a ^{A strange} Serpent, and was painted with foule and Diuelish gestures, with great teeth and gums wrought; which was a thing to feare those that should enter in therat, and especially the Christians vnto whom it represented very Hel with that ougly face and monstrous teeth.

There were other Teucalles in the citie, that had the ascending by steps in thre places: all these temples had houses by themselves with all seruice, and priests and particular Gods. At euery doore of the great temple standeth a large Hall & goodly lodgings, both high and lowe round about, which houses were common armories for the citie, for the force and strength of euery towne is the temple, and therefore they haue there placed their storehouse of munition. They had other darke houses full of idols, great and small, wrought of sundry mettals, they are all bathed and washed with blood, and do shew very blacke through their dayly sprinkling & anointing them with the same, when any man is sacrificed: yea, and the wals are an inch thicke with blood, and the ground is a sorte thicke of blood, so that there is a diuelish stinch. The priests or ministers go dayly into those Oratories, and suffer none others but great personages to enter in. Yea, and when any such goeth in, they are bound to offer some man to be sacrificed, that those bloody hangmen and ministers of the diuel may wash their handes in blood of those so sacrificed, and to sprinkle their house therewith.

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For their seruice in the kitchin they haue a ponde of wa-
ter that is filled once a yere, which is brought by conduct
from the pzincipall fontaine. All the residue of the soze
saide circuite serueth for places to bzeede soule, with gar-
dens of hearbes and swerte trees, with Roses and floures
for the Altars. Such, so great and strange was this tem-
ple of Mexico, for the seruice of the Dinel who had decei-
ued those simple Indians. There both reside in the same
temple continually fise thousand persons, and all they are
lodged & haue their lining there, for that temple is mar-
uellous riche, & hath diuers toynes onely for their main-
tenaunce and reparation, and are bounde to sustaine the
same alwaies on foot. They doe solue coyne, and main-
taine all those fise thousande persons with bread, fruite,
fish, fith, and fire woodde, as much as they nede, for they
spende more fire woodde then is spent in the kings court :
these persons doe liue at their hearts ease, as seruants
and bassals vnto the Goddes. Mutezuma brought Cortez
to this temple, because his men should see the same, and to
enfozme them of his religion and holinesse, wherof I wil
speake in another place, being the most straunge and cru-
ellest that euer was heard off.

The Idols of Mexico.



The gods of Mexico, were two thousand
in number, as the Indians reported, the
chiefest were Vitcilopucheli & Tezcatli-
puca, whose images stode highest in the
Temple vppon the Altars: they were
made of stone in full propoztion as bigge
as a Giant. They were covered with a lawne called
Nacar. These images were beset with pearles, pzecious
stones, & peces of gold, wrought like birds, beasts, fishes,
and

and floures, adorned with Emerals, Turquies, Calcedons, and other little fine stones, so that when the lawne Naker was taken away, the Images seemed very beautiful to beholde.

The Image had for a girdle great snakes of gold, and for colloys or chaines about their neckes, ten hearts of men, made of golde, and each of those Idolles had a counterfaite visor with eies of glasse, and in their necks death painted: eache of these things hadde their considerations and meanings. These two Goddess were hzethzen, for Tezcatlipuca was the God of Providence, and Vitcilopucheli God of the warres, who was worshipped and feared more then all the rest.

A wicked
antire.

There was another God, who hadde a greate Image placed vpon the toppe of the Chappell of Idolls, and he was esteemed for a speciall and singular God above all the rest. This God was made of all kinde of seedes that groweth in that Countrey, and being ground, they made a certaine past, tempered with chillozens bloud, and Virgins sacrificed, who were opened with their razures in the breasts, and their heartes taken out, to offer as first fruites vnto the Idoll. The Priests and Ministers doe consecrate this Idoll with greate pomp and many Ceremonies. All the Comarcans and Citizens are present at the consecration, with great triumph and incredible deuotion. After the consecration, many deuoute persons came and sticked in the bowe Image precious stones, wedges of golde, and other Jewels. After all this pomp ended, no secular man mought touche that holys Image, no nor yet come into his Chappell, nay scarcely religious persons, except they were Tlamacazeli, who are Priests of ozer. They doe renew this Image many times with new dough, taking away the elde, but then blessed is he that can get one peece of the olde ragges for relikes, and

A madde
offering.

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chiefly for souldiers, who thought themselves sure there, with in the warres. Also at the consecration of this Idoll, a certaine vessell of water was blessed with many wordes and ceremonies, and that water was preserved very religiously at the fote of the altar, for to consecrate the King when he should bee crowned, and also to blesse any Capitaine generall, when he should be elected for the warres, with only giuing him a draught of that water.

The Charnell house, or place of dead mens sculles, for remembrance of death.

VVithout the Temple, and ouer against the principall doore therof, a stones cast vistant, standeth the Charnell house onely of dead mens heads, prisoners in warres, and sacrificed with the knife.

This Monument was made lyke vnto a Theater, more larger then broade, wrought of lime and stone, with ascending steppes, in the walles whereof was grased betwixt stone and stone a scull, with the teeth outwards.

At the fote and head of this Theater, were two Towers, made only of lime and sculles, the tathe outward, and this wall hauing no other stufte, seemed a strange sight. At and vppon the toppe of the Theater, were 70. poles, standing the one from the other foure or five fote distant, and each of them was full of stauess from the fote to the toppe. Each of these stauess had others made fast vnto them, so that euery of them had fine sculles hatched throught the temples. Andrewe de Tapia did certify me, that he and Gonfalo de Umbria did reckon them in one day, and found a hundred thirtie and six thousand sculles on the poles, stauess, and steppes. The other Towers

livers were replenished out of number, a most cruell custom, being only mens heads slaine in sacrifice, although it hath a shewe of humanitie for the remembrance there placed of death. There are also men appointed, that when one skul falleth, to set vp another in his place, so that the number may neuer want.

How Cortez tooke Mutezuma
Prisoner.

Hernando Cortez and his company, were five daies in beholding and perusing the scituation of the Citie and secrets of the same, with 5 notable things befoze rehearsed: they were often visited by Mutezuma, and the Gentlemen of his Court, and abundantly provided of things necessary for his vse, and the Indians of his company.

Likewise his Horses were cherished and served with greene barley and grasse, whereof there is plentie all the yeare: likewise of coyne, meale, roses, and of all things that their owners would request, in so much that beddes of floures were made for them in place of litter. A sweete bedde. But yet notwithstanding, although they were in this sorte cherished, and also lodged in so riche a Countrey, where they might fill their purses, they were not yet all contente and merrie, but rather with great feare and care, especially Cortez, who hadde the onely care as head and chiefe Captaine for the defence of his fellowes, hee (I say) was pensive, noting the scituation of the Citie, the infinite number of people, the state and maiestie of Mexico, yea and some disquietnesse of his owne company, who would come and laye vnto his charge the snare and nette that they were in, in thinking if a thing vnpossible that anye of them coulede escape,

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if Mutezuma, were therunto determined, or else with the least muteny in the woꝝlde, that mought be raised in the Citie, although that euery inhabitant shoulde thꝛoꝝ but one stone at them, or else to bꝛeake vp the bzawbzidges, or withbzawing their victuals, things very easie to be done. With this greate care that he had of the pꝛeseruation of his fellowes, and to remedie the perill and daunger that he stode in, he determined to appꝛehēd Mutezuma, and to bulde foure foylles to haue the lake in subiection, which he hadde toloze imagined, and without the appꝛehension of the King, he coulde not come by the Kingdome: he would very gladly haue built the foylles out of hand, but he left off that pꝛetence, only because he would not delay the imprisonment of Mutezuma, where, in consisted the effect of all his businesse, so that forthwith he minded to put in execution his intent, without giuing any of his company to vnderstand therof.

Determinati-
on of Cortez.

The quarrell wherewith he had armed himselfe for that purpose, was, that the Lord Qualpopoca hadde slaine nine Spaniardes: like wise encouraged him the great pꝛesumption of his letters wzitten to the Emperour Charles his king, wherein he wzote that he would take Mutezuma prisoner, and dispossesse him of his Emppꝛe. These causes considered, he toke the letters of Pedro Hircio, wherein was wzitten, howe Qualpopoca was the cause of the death of nine Spaniardes, & put those letters into his pocket, and walking vp and downe his lodging, tolling to and fro these imaginations in his bzayne, full of care of the greate enterpryse that he had in hande, yea he himselfe iudging the matter doubtfull, and his head being in this sozt occupied, he chanced to espie one wall moze whiter then the rest, and beholding the same, he sawe that it was a doze lately dammed vp, and calling vnto him two of his seruants (for all the residue were a slæpe) be-
cause

cause it was late in the nighte, he opened that doze, and went in, and there found sundry halles, some with Idols, some with gallant feathers, Jewels, p̄cious stones, plate, yea and such an infinite quantitie of golde, that the sight thereof amazed him, and other gallant things that made him to maruell. He shutte this doze againe as well as he moughte, without touching any part of that treasure, because he woulde not make any b̄p̄oze thereabout, noz yet to delape the imprisonment of Mutezuma, soz that treasure was alwaies there to be had.

The next daye in the morning came certp̄ine Spaniards vnto him, and manye Indians of Tlaxcallon, saying that the Citizens did goe about to conspire their deathe, and to b̄eake downe the b̄idges of the calleyes, to b̄ying their purpose the better to passe. So that with this newes, b̄eing true or false, Cortes left the one halfe of his men to defende and keepe his lodging, and at euery crosse str̄ete he planted m̄e, and the residue he sent to the Court by two and two, and th̄re and th̄re, and he himselſe came to the palleice, saying that hee must talke with Mutezuma of matters that did empozt their liues. Cortez was secretly armed. Mutezuma hearing howe Cortez attended for him, came forth and receiued him, taking him by the hande, and placed him in his seate thirtie Spaniards waited vpon Cortes, and the residue abode without at the doze.

Cortes saluted Mutezuma according to his accustomed manner, and began to iest and talke merily as hee was wont to doe. Mutezuma being carelesse of the t̄hing that fortune hadde prepared againſte him, was also very merrie, and pleased with that conuerſation. he gaue vnto Cortez Jewels of golde, and one of his daughters, and other noble mens daughters to others of his company. Cortez receiued the gift, for other wise it had bene

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a frent vnto Mutezuma. But yet he enforzmed him, that he was a married man, and that he coulde not marrie with his daughter, for the Chzistian law bid not per mitte the same, noz yet that any Chzistian mought haue moze then one wife, vppon paine of infamy, and to be marked in the forehead.

After all this talke ended, Cortes toke the letters of Pedro Hircio, and caused them to be interpreted vnto Mutezuma, making his grieuous complainte againste Qualpopoca, who hadde slaine so many Spaniards through his commandement, yea and that his subiects had published, that they would kill the Spaniards, and breake downe the bridges.

Mutezuma excused himselfe earnestly, as well of the one as of the other, saying, the report giuen out againste his subiectes was false and vntrue, and as for Qualpopoca who had slaine the Spaniards, he was innocent thereof: and because that he shoulde see the troth, he called incontinent certaine of his seruantes, commanding them to goe for Qualpopoca, and gaue vnto them his seale, which was a stone that he ware at his wezt, engraued with the figure of the God Virzilopucheli, and the messengers departed there with incontinent.

Cortez replied and said, My Lord, your highnesse must goe with me to my lodging, and there abide, untill your messengers returne with Qualpopoca, and the certaintie of the death of my men: In my lodging your highnesse shall rule and commaund as you doe here in Court, your person shall be well bled, wherefore take you no care, for I will haue respecte vnto your honoz, as to mine owne proper, or the honoz of my King, beseeching you to pardon me in this my request, for if I should do other, wise, and dissemble with you, mine owne company would be offended with me, saying that I doe not defende them
accoz,

according to dutie. Wherefoze command your house, holde seruantes to repose themselves without alteration, for he you assured that if any hurt come vnto mee, or vnto anye of mine, youre person shall pay the same with life, considering that it lieth in youre hande to goe quietly with me.

Mutezuma was soze amazed, saying, Sir, my person is not fitte to be a prisoner, yea, and though I woulde permitte the same, my subiectes would not suffer.

They abode arguing the matter nere foure houres, and at length Mutezuma was content to goe, hauing promised that he shoulde rule and gouerne as he was wont to do. Cortez commaunded a place in his lodging to be trimmed for him, and he went forthwith thither with Cortes. There came many noble men barefooted, weeping and lamenting the case, carrying their best garments vnder their armes, and brought a rich seate, wheron Mutezuma was placed, & they carried him vpon their shoulders.

When it was blowen abroade in the Citie that Mutezuma was carried prisoner to the Spaniards lodging, all the Citie was on an vpproze: but yet Mutezuma did comfort the Gentlemen that carried and followed him weeping, praying them to cease their lamentation, saying that he was not prisoner, nor yet went with the Christians against his will, but for his onely pleasure. Cortes appointed a Spanish garde for him, with a Captaine, the which he dayly chaged, and had Spaniards alwaies in his company to make him pastime. Also woe Mutezuma was contented with their conuersation, & gaue the still rewards, pastime. He was serued with his owne seruants Indians, as at home in his pallace. Cortes, alwaies intreated him to put off sadness, & to be merrie, permitting him to dispatch suters, & to deale in all affaires of his estate, and to comune and talke openly or secretly with his noble men as he was wont to

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do, and that was but onely a baite to bying them to the hooke. There was neuer Græke nor Romaine, nor any other nation since the name of Kings was ordeined, did giue ſo like interpriſe, as Hernando Cortez did, in taking Mutezuma priſoner in his owne houſe, being a moſt mightie King, & in a moſt ſtrong fozt among infinite people, he hauing but only 450. companions.

The creation of Hunting, which Mutezuma vſed



Mutezuma had not only all the libertie that he deſired in the Citie, being priſoner among the Spaniards, but alſo Cortez permitted him to hunt and hanke, or to go to the temple, ſo he was very deuoute, and a great hunter.

When he went a hunting, he was carried vpon mens ſhoulders with eight or ten Spaniardes in his guard, and thre thouſand Mexicans, who were Gentlemen, his ſervants, and hunters, of whom he hadde a great number, ſome to ſeke the game, others to beate the couertes, and others to marke. Some of thoſe Hunters were only for hares and connies, other for all ſorts of Deere, Wolues, foxes, and ſuch like. They were very perſite with their bowes, and good markemen, ſo he that miſſed his marke at foureſcore paces diſtant was puniſhed. It was ſtrange to ſee the number of people that wente with him on hunting, and to ſee the ſlaughter of beaſts killed, with hande, ſtaues, nettes, and bowes, ſome of thoſe beaſts were tame, and other byane and fearfull, as Lyons, Tigers, and Dunces. It is a harde thing to take a ſierre Lion in hunting as they do, being in manner a naked people, and the beaſt couragious and ſtrong, but yet the priſoner he ſaith, ſight and cunning is better then ſtrength.

It is a moze strange thing to take any soule that flieth in the aire, as their Falconers do, for after they haue once marked and set eie vpon any soule, the Falconers of Mutezuma will undertake to catch him, although the soule be neuer so swift of wing, being at the least so commanded by the King. It happened one day that Mutezuma stode in his Gallerie with his garde of Spaniards, who had espied a faire Hauke soaring in the ayre, oh quoth they what a faire Hauke flieth yonder, Mutezuma hearing their talke, called vnto him certaine of his Falconers, commaunding them to followe that Hauke, and to bring him vnto him. The Falconers went to fulfil his request, and followed that soule with such diligence, that in short space they brought the hauke vnto him, who presented the same vnto the Spaniards, a thing truly almost incredible, but yet certified by word and writings of the present witneses. Their chiefest and most pleasant pastime of hawking was, of lightes, Ravens, Crows, Pies, and rothebirds of hardie stomacke, & slow in flight, great and small of all sortes, for the which he had Eagles, Wyfers, and other soules of rapine, marvellous swift of wing, and such as would mount verie high in the ayre, with the which they murdered Hares, Rabbits, and (as some say) Hares.

He had other foulers, that vsed Pettes, Snares, and sundry engens. Mutezuma vsed much to shoot in a trunke, and with his bow killed many wilde beasts. His houses of pleasure, as I haue before declared, stode six miles from the Citie in pleasant wooddes: and alwayes when he went a hunting after the time that hee was prisoner, the same day he would returne againe to Cortez his lodging, although he banquetted & feasted with the Spaniards at his places of sporting and pastime, and would alwayes at his returne to his lodging giue some present vnto the,

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that had accompanied him that day.

Cortez seeing the liberalitie of Mutezuma, saide vnto him: sir, my companie are vnruely fellows, and as I vnderstand, they haue found out some of your treasure, and haue made spoile thereof: wherfore I would knowe your pleasure what shall be done with the. And in effect it was the treasure that Cortez himselfe had founde out. Mutezuma answered, saying, sir that treasure which they haue founde, is due appertaine vnto the Gods: But yet notwithstanding, let them leaue the feathers, and all such things as are neither golde nor silver, and all the residue take for you and them; and if you will haue more, I will prouide it for you.

How Cortez began to plucke downe the Idols of Mexico.



When Mutezuma went into the temple, he went leaning vpon a noble mans arme, or else was led betwene two, and a noble personage went alwayes before him with three small wands in his hand, signifying thereby, that the king in person was there at hand, and in token also of iustice and correction.

If he had bene carried vpon mens shoulders then at his alighting downe, he toke one of those rods into his owne hand. He was a Prince full of ceremonies in all his doings; but the substance of his estate is alreadie declared, from the time that Cortez entred into Mexico, vntill this present. Those first dayes that the Spaniards came to the Citie, and as oft as Mutezuma went to the Temple, Indian men were slaine in sacrifice. And to prohibit such abominable crueltie and sin, committed in the presence of the

the Christians who went in cōpany of Mutezuma, Cortes required Mutezuma, to commaunde that no mans flesh should be any moze spoyled, or blood shed in sacrifice, and in not fulfilling his request, he would destroy both the temple and Citie. Also he signified vnto him, that he himselfe would throw downe the idols, befoze his pzenfence, and all the Citizens.

Mutezuma replied to his demaūd, saying: It may please you to leaue off your determination, least that in so doing all the Citie fall into an vpyoze and rebellion to defende their god Gods, and auncient religion, the which Gods had alwayes pzovided them of water, bread, health, light, and all other things needfull. This notwithstanding, the first time that Mutezuma went to the Temple after his imprisonment, Cortez and his companie went with him, and euery of them laid hands vpon the idols, and theye threw them downe headlong from their seates, and Altars, and other Chappels. Mutezuma with this sight was in great agonie, yea and his subiects readie to take weapon to slay them there pzenfent, but yet Mutezuma commaunded his subiects to stay from their pzenfence: beseeching Cortez to stay from his proceedings, at whose request Cortes ceased, for he thought, as yet time serued not for the purpose and pzenfence: but he declared vnto them by his interpreters, as followeth.

The exhortation that Cortes made to Mutezuma,
and to the Citizens of Mexico, concerning their Idols.

Al creatures in the world (mightie prince, and yee gentlemen and religious persons, whether it be yee here or we in Spaine, or whatsoeuer other Nation that it may be) haue I say, all one beginning and ending

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ending of mortall life, which is had from God: we are all formed and made of one mettall, and haue all soules and senses, euen so doubtlesse as we are like in proportion of bodie and soule, yea and kinsfolke in blood, although that by the prouidence of the same our God, some are bozne faire and beautifull, and other some foule and disfigured: some of one colour, and some of another: some prudent and wise, and other some sonde and foolish, without either iudgement or vertue: in the which his maruelous works God sheweth himselfe iust, holy and almightie, giuing those seuerall giftes, to the intent that the wise and learned might teach the rude and ignorant, and to guide the blinde into the right way of saluation, by the steppes of true and vnfeigned religion.

Wherefore I and my fellows as your guests and kinsmen, according to equitie doe procure and wish the same vnto you. A man and his life consisteth in three things, as ye shall vnderstande, that is, bodie, soule and godes: as for your godes and riches, which is the least that wee desire, for ye know well that we haue taken nothing forcible from you, but onely those things which yee haue freely and liberally giuen vs. Like wise we haue not hurt, misused or molested your persons, wiues or children, nor yet do meane any such thing, your soules health onely is the thing we seeke, for your saluation, and that wee now pretend to the we, and to giue vnto you perfitte notice of the true and euermlasting God. There is none of naturall iudgement can denie, but that there is one God, but yet through ignorance and deceite of the Diuell, will also thinke that there are many Goddes, and not acerte vnto the true God. But I doe say and most assuredly certifie you, that there is no other true God, but onely he whom we Christians doe serue, adore and worship, the which is one eternall, without beginning, and without ende,
the

the onely creatoz, and governour of things created: he alone made the Heavens, the Sunne, the Moone, and Starres, the which his creatures you doe worship: he (I say) founded and made the sea, and the sunby and maruellous fishes therein: he planted and made the lande, with all the monstrous beastes therein, fowles likewise in the ayre, plantes, hearbes, stones and such like. All the which creatures, ye as blinde and ignorant do hold for Goddes.

Our almightie God after he had finished and made all the former woikes with his own blessed hands, made one man and one woman, and being so for men and for ought, he put a soule and breath into each body, and the deliuered the wo:ld vnto them, the toing them Paradiſe and glory. So that of that manne and woman, we all mortall mennt proceeded in generation, and in this sozte are the handy wo:ke of God, kinsmen and brethren. Some if we will come vnto God our father, it is needfull and necessary that we be good, vertuous, pitifull, innocent and vnder obedience: the which ye can not be if you wo:shippe statues, images, idols, and vse bloody sacrifice of mans flesh. Is there any of you that woulde willingly be slaine? no trusty: why the doo you seea other so cruelly? and where you can put no soules, why doe you take them from thence? there is none of you, nor your false Gods, that can make soules; nor can forge mens bodies of flesh and bone: so: if ye coulde, there is none of you woulde be without childzen: according to your owne appetite and desire, in fashion, beautie and wo:ke manshipp. But where our God of heauen doth make all creatures, he doeth therein his owne discretion, and giueth childzen to whome he pleaseth: and therefore is he God alone, and so: these causes shoulde ye haue, esteeme; and wo:shippe him for such a mightie God: desiring of him by prayers to giue raine and temperature, that the earth

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may bring forth Cozne, Fruite, Herbes, flesh, Foule, and all other necessaries for the sustentation of life. All these things the harde stones giue not vnto you, no no; yet your oze wooden images and cold mettall, neither yet the small sedes where with your seruants and slaues, with their filthie handes doe make these images and soule statues, the whiche ye doe worshippe. What sonde people and madde religious persons, who worship their owne workmanship, doe ye thinke that they are Gods that rotte and molye away, and haue no life, and can neither helpe noz kill: Therefore I say vnto you, that now and hereafter there is no cause that ye shoulde haue anye moe idoles, noz yet any moze slaughters for sacrifice, no noz yet to make any moe prayers or supplications vnto them, beinge bothe Blinde, Deafe, and Dumme.

Jewas maruel
that Cortez
was not taken
for an here-
tike.

Will ye knowe who is God, and where he is: liffe vp youre eyes vnto Heauen, and then shall you vnderstande that aboue is a Godhead or Deitie that moueth the heauens, and governeth the course of the Sunne, ruleth the Land, and replenisheth the sea, who prouideth for Man and Beast bothe Cozne and Water. This God whome ye now imagine in your hartes, him (I say) serue and worshippe, not with death of menne or bloud by sacrifice abhominable, but with deuotion and humble prayer as we Christians doe. And consider well, that to teach and instruct you these things, was the cause of our comming hither:

With this exhortation, Cortez aplaked the yze of the Priests and Citizens: their idola beinge throwen downe, Mutezuma toke order that no moe shoulde be sette vp, commanding to sweepe and make cleane the Chappels of the stinking bloud that was in them, forbidding sacrifice of mans flesh. Mutezuma and his officers made a solemne

do so and promise to permit no more slaughter of men, and to set up a Crosse for remembrance of the death and passion of Iesu Christ boine of the virgin Marie. The which their promise was well fulfilled, for after that day the Spaniards could neuer heare nor finde of any more sacrifice: But yet there abode in their hearts a mortall rancor, the which could not long be dissimuled.

Truly in this moorthie fact Cortez got more honor then though he had overcome them in battaile.

The burning of the Lord Qualpopoca and other Gentlemen.

After twentie dayes that Mutezuma had bene prisoner, returned the messengers who had gone with the scale for Qualpopoca, and brought him, his sonne, and other fiftene principall persons, with them, the which by enquirie made, were culpable and partakers in the counsell and death of the nine Spaniards. Qualpopoca entred into Mexico, accompanied like a great Lord as he was, being boine vpon his seruants shoulder's in rich furniture. As soone as he had saluted Mutezuma, he and his sonne were deliuered vnto Cortez, with the other fiftene Gentlemen. Cortez placed them asunder, and commaunded them to be put in irons, and their examinations taken, they confessed that they had slaine those Spaniards in battaile.

Cortez demaunded of Qualpopoca if he were subiect to Mutezuma, why (quoth he) is there any other Prince to whom I might be in subiection: giuing almost to vnderstand that he was a Lord absolute. Cortes answered, that a farre greater Prince was the King of Spaine, whose subiects under colour of friendship and safe conduct, he

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had slaine. But (quoth he) now shalt thou make payment thereof. And being again more straighter examined, they confessed that they had slaine two Spaniards by the aduice and indurment of the great Prince Mutezuma; and the residue were slaine in the warres; and had assaulted their houses, and entred their countrey, togeresoze they helde it lawfull to kill them.

Throught the confession pronounced by their owne mouthes, sentence was given against them, and they condemned to be burned, which sentence was openly executed in the market place in sight of all the people, without any mutinie or slander, and with great silence, terror and feare of the new manner of iustice which they sawe there executed vpon so noble a man, in the chiefe seate and kingdome of Mutezuma, being guests and strangers.

The cause of the burning of Qualpopoca.

At the time that Cortez departed from Vera Cruz, he left in commission to Pedro Hircio, to procure to inhabit in that place which is called Almeria; and not to permit Francisco de Garay to sojourne there, for so much as once he was bynen from that coast. Now Hircio to fulfill his commission, sent to require those Indians with peace and friendship, and to velt themselves for vassals of the Empero. Qualpopoca Lord of Nahuchan, which is now called as aforesaid Almeria, sent to aduertise Pedro Hircio; that he could not come to pay his obedience, for the enemies that were in the way: but if it would please him to send some of his men, for the security of the way, he would willingly come vnto him.

Hircio hearing this answer, sent foure of his men, giuing credit

credite to his message, and so the destruction was finished
there: and then the four Spaniards came into the province of
Nahuatlaco, where met with them many armed Indians; who
flew like sheep, and made the great and triumph; the
other Spaniards were wounded, and one of them with the
netes to the teeth of Ven Gruk; Pedro Huiacaboldin
that Quialpopoca had done that injury, as he put against
him fifty Spaniards, and ten thousand Indians of Zempo-
pochco, with two hundred and thirty of assistance.
Quialpopoca being thus overcome, with a right
power to drive them out of his Country, and in that one
counter seven Spaniards were slain, and many Zempo-
allances, but all he did he was not enough; his Country
spoiled; and his people sicked, and many of his army slain,
and taken captives. The prisoners declared, that by the
commandment of the great Lord Mutezuma, all this
war was attempted by Quialpopoca; it might well be;
for in the house of death they confessed the same. But some
affirme they said so, but to excuse themselves, and to lay
the fault to the Mexicans. Hinc forward, these letters of
Cortez to him Chollallan, and through these letters Cor-
tes apprehended Mutezuma (as it is so declared, by the



Dese the execution of Quialpopoca
and his followers, Cortez declared him
to Mutezuma, that Quialpopoca and
his company had confessed, that by his
advice and commandment, the nine
Spaniards were slain, and he had
done very euill, they being his
friends and guests: but (quoth he) if

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the heart of the king of the land: he heard unto you; this
 matter should not in this sort be shut up, and then knee
 his company of Spaniards on his knees, saying, he that killeth
 ought to be killed, according to the lawes of God. Those
 things did Cortez, because he should accept himselfe as
 his owne goods and treasures, and to let other men passe,
 and his owne was pale with the change of death,
 through the great feare that he was in, seeing himselfe so
 trowne, a new and strange thing for such a great king; ex-
 posing himselfe that he was innocent of the fact: And as soon
 as the operation of burning was done, Cortez coming in
 bed forth into the town that he knewe were, offering
 him libertie, and willing him to go into his owne palace,
 he reioiced much to see himselfe out of the trowne; and
 gave Cortez a small heartie thanks, and refused to go home
 to his house, palace, or dwelling, the offer was but idle,
 as if he feared that his subjects would kill him: seeing
 him but of the Spaniards power, for permitting himselfe
 to be taken prisoner, and so to be kept. He said also, that if
 he went from thence, his subjects would rebell, and compel
 him to kill the Spaniards.
 Truly the people of this land was of small heart and
 courage, to suffer himselfe to be taken prisoner, and after
 his imprisonment would neuer procure libertie, Cortez
 offering it unto him, and many of his noble men desiring
 him. And remaining in that order, there was none in
 Mexico durst offend him for feare of displea-
 sing him, for Quapopoca came with leagues with other
 warning him that the great Lord had sent for him, bring-
 ing him the figure of his seals: yea and all the peeres of
 his realme that dwelt furthest off, were ready to obey his
 commandments all about about about
 and quied you. Him you and you
 in (ed) you, and: ed you and you



How

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How Cortes sent to seeke for Mines of golde
into diuers places.

Cortes had a great desire to knowe how far the Em-
pire of Mutezuma did extend; and what friendship
was betwixt him and other Kings and Princes
Comarcans, and also to gather together a good sort
of gold to send to Spaine to the Emperour, for his reasons
of first part, with full relation of the Countrey people, and
things happened untill that day. Wherefore he prayed
Mutezuma to shew him where the mines were, from
whence he and his subjects had the gold and plate. Mute-
zuma granted to his request, and incontinent appointed
eight Indians, of the which foure were Goldsmiths, who
had knowledge and understanding of Spaines, and the
other foure were guides for the iourney. He commanded
them that by two and two they should goe into foure Pro-
vinces, that is say, Zucolla, Malinaltepec, Tenich, and
Tutepec, with other eight Spaniards, which Cortes ap-
pointed, to haue knowledge of the rivers and mines of
golde, and to bring a mother of the same. The eight Spani-
ards departed on their iourney, with the other 8. Indians,
which were for Mutezuma. Zucolla is 80. leagues from
Mexico, and the land therat is subject to Mutezuma, who
shewd vnto the Spaniards the river of golde, a gaine
of each river a mother thereof, although it were but little,
for with want of knowledge they knew not well the ma-
ner how to get it out of the river. These messengers in
their iourney to and fro, passed through three provinces
full of people and habitation, with good buildings, fruits,
full ground, and the people of the one of them called Tla-
macolapan, are of good reason and iudgement, and better
apparellled then the Mexicans.

Malinal-

returned likewise with mosser of golde of two Miners, and brought newes that the Countrey was fit to build vppon, with hope to reape much golde, finding once an arte to get it out of the riuer.

Cortez hearing this newes, prayed Mutezuma to build a house there in the name of the Emperoure Charles, who incontinente sente thither woꝝkemen and labourers, whiche within two monethes hadde built a greate house, and other thre little houses round aboute it, with a ponde of water full of fishe, and five hundred Duckes, and a thousand five hundred Turkie cockes and hennes, and muche houtholde stuffe, so that the giste was woꝝth twentie thousand Castlins of golde. He gaue vnto him also twentie bushels of the graine called Centli, readye sowen, and two thousand stokes of trees called Cacauatl, whiche bringeth forth the fruite Cacao, that serueth for money and meate. Cortez began this husbandrye, but yet made not any ende thereof, with the comming of Pamfilo de Naruaiz, and the vproye in Mexico, which shortly followed. He also besought Mutezuma to certifie him if there were any sure porte or harbour on the Sea coast, where the Spanishe nauie might ride in safetie: he answered that he knew of none, but that he would sende to make enquirie thereof. And forthwith he commaunded all that coast to be painted in a cloath made of cotten wooll, with all the riuers, bayes, crêkes and capes that were within his dominion. In all the same posture did not appeare anye porte, skale, or sure roade, saving a gulfe that falleth out of the Mountaines, which place is now called the harboꝝ of Saint Martine, and Saint Anthoine in þe prouince of Coazacoalco. The Spaniards thought the same to be a straight or passage into the South sea, to passe vnto the Maluccos and spicerie, but they were deceived although they believed the thing that they desired.

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Cortes for this purpose sent tenne Spaniards, all good marriners and Bylots, in companie of the Indians that Mutezuma sent one that voyage at his owne cost.

They departed, and came to Chalohicoeca, where first they came aland, the which place is now called S. Iohn de Vlhua.

They wente 70. leagues along the coast, without finding any Riuer, although they mette with many brookes of shallowe water, not fitte for a roade for Shippes.

They apoynted at Coazacoalco, the Loyde whereof was enemie to Mutezuma, his name was Tuhnilec, who friendly receiued the Spaniards, for he hadde intelligence of them, at their lying at Potonchan. He gaue vnto them boates, to sounde and seeke the Riuer, where they founde fye sadome in deapth, and wente vpp that Riuer twelue leagues, where they descryed many great towne, and it seemed a fruitefull soyle. This Cazicke Tuhnilec, sente vnto Cortes with the Spaniards certain gold, precious stones, and cloth of cotten, with apparrell made of skinner, and tygers, requesting his friendship, and to admitte him tributarie to the Emperour, paying yereely a certaine pporzion of his riches, with such condition, that the Indians of Culhua should not enter into his iurisdiction.

Cortes muche reioyced with these messages, and was glad of the finding of the faire riuer, for the Sparriners hadde enformed him, that from the riuer of Grijalua vnto Panuco, was no riuer to be found, but I beleue they were deceiued. Cortes returned backe againe some of those messengers, with a present of Spanissh ware for Tuhnilec, and to be better informed of all his meaning, with a speciall charge to know the commotie of that port and Countrey, who went, and in shorte time returned well satisfied of their demaund: where vpon, Cortez sent thither John Velasques de Leon, for Captain of a hundred and fifty Spaniards.

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Spaniards, with commission to build a fort.

The imprisonment of Cacama,
King of Tezcucó.



He weake courage and stomacke of Mutezuma, caused his subiects not onely to murmure, but also to seeke meanes of rebellion, especially his nephew Cacamazin, Lorde of Tezcucó, who was a stout young man and an honorable, and one that receiued great griefe of his Uncles imprisonment: and seeing that the matter seemed long, he besought his Uncle to procure his libertie, and to helpe him selfe a Lord, and not a slave: but seeing at length that hee could not accept and follow his counsell, he began to stirre in the matter, threatening the death and destruction of the Spaniards. Some said, that Cacama did begin that matter, to reuenge the iniurie and dishonour done vnto his vncle. Others saide, that his meaning was to make him selfe King of Mexico. Others held opinion, that his pretence was onely to make an end of the Spaniards. But let it be for what soeuer purpose. Once he gathered a great army, which he could not want, although Mutezuma was prisoner, especially against the Spaniards. He published that he would redeeme his vncle out of captiuitie, and expulse the straungers, or else kill and eate them.

This was a terrible newes for the Christians, but yet for all those hazards Cortez dismayde not, rather he determined forthwith to prepare him selfe for the warres, and to besiege him in his owne house and towne, saying that Mutezuma disturbed him, saying that Tezcucó was a place very strong, and situated in water, and that Cacama was a man of bolde and stout courage,

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and had at commandement the Indians of Culhua, and was also Lord of Culhuacan and Otumpa, which were forces of great strength, thinking to bring the matter to a better passe another way: so that Cortes ruled himselfe by the counsell of Mutezuma, and sent vnto Cacama, praying him to haue in remembrance the friendshippe that had bene betwixt them two, from the time that he came and brought him into Mexico, and that alwayes peace was better then warre, and especially for a noble man of vassals, for the beginning of warres was pleasant to him that knewe not what warres meante: and in so doing, he should do both pleasure and seruice to the King of Spaine.

Cacama was
wife.

Cacama answered, that he had no friendship with him that would take away his honour and kingdoms, and that the warres which he pretended, was profitable for his vassals, and in defence of their Country and Religion, yea and before he determined peace, he meant to reuenge his Uncles wrongs and his goddes.

Also (quoth he) what haue I to doe with the King of Spaine, who is a man that I know not, nor yet wold gladly heare of him.

Cortez turned againe to admonishe and require him diuers times to leaue off his determination, and willed Mutezuma to commaunde him to accepte his offer.

Whereupon Mutezuma sent vnto him, desiring him to come vnto Mexico, to take some order in those controversies and discords betwixt him and the Spaniards.

Cacama answered very sharpe vnto his Uncles request, saying, If you had blood in your eye, or the heart of a Prince, you would not permitte your selfe to be prisoner, and Captiue of foure paye strangers, who
with

with their faire speech, and flattering talke haue bewitched you, and blurred your kingdome, no no yet suffer the Goddes of Culhua to be thzowne downe and spoyled, yea and the Mexican religion and holy places violated, and troden with thérpes false and deceiuers: like wise the honour, glozie, and fame of your predecessours blotted and abased, thzough your faint stomacke and cowardise. But notwithstanding, according to your request, and to repair our religion, to restoze the Goddes to their Temples, to preserve the kingdome, and to procure libertie for you and the Citie, I will obey your commandement: But how: not with my hands in my bosome, but like a warriour, to kill those Spaniards who haue so affronted the nation of Culhua. Our men stode in great perill, as well of the losing of Mexico as of their own liues, if this war and maintenance had not some bene qualified: for why? Cacama was valiant, stout, and a good soldier, yea, and well furnished of men of warre: also the Citizens of Mexico, were desirous of the same, for to redeem Mutezuma their Prince, and to kill the Spaniards, or else to expulse them out of the Citie.

But poye Mutezuma remedied the matter, knowing or foreseeing, that warres would not preuaile, yea and beleuened, that in the end all should fall upon his backe. He dealt with certaine capitaines and gentlemen that dwelt in Tezucó with Cacama, to apprehend him, and bying him prisoner, considering that he was their king and yet alive. But whether it were, that those Capitaines had serued Muzuma in the warres, or whether it were for gifts and rewards, they apprehended Cacama, being in counsell among them, treating of his warres pretended, and embarked him in a boate armed for the purpose, and so brought him to Mexico, without any further slaughter or strife, and when he was comen to Mexico, they put him

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Cacama pri-
soner.

on a riche seat; as the Kings of Tezcucō were wont to sitte vpon, being the greatest Prince in all that lande next vnto Mutezuma: and in this sort brought him before his vncle, who would not looke vpon him, but commanded him to bee deliuered vnto Cortez, who incontinent clapped a paire of gins on his legges, and a paire of manacles on his handes, and put him into sure Garde and custodie.

After that Cacama was in this order prisoner, with the consent of Mutezuma was elected Lord and Prince of Tezcucō with Cullnacari, Cucuzcā, Cacama his younger brother, who was abiding in Mexico with his vncle, and fledde from his brother: Mutezuma did entitle him with ceremonies accustomed vnto Princes newly elected and chosen. So that forthwith he was obeyed in Tezcucō by Mutezuma his commandingement; for he was there better beloved then Cacama, who was somewhat of a crooked nature. In this sort was remedied all the former perill, but if there had bene many Cacamas, it would haue fallen out otherwise.

Here Cortes made kings, & commanded with as great authority, as though he had obtained already the whole Empire of Mexico: and certainly withens his first entry into that countrey he had an assured hope to win Mexico, and to be Lord ouer the whole state of Mutezuma, and ruled out, and all the places of, and all the countrey. The Oration that Mutezuma made vnto Cortes, and this Noble men; yielding himselfe to the King of Castile.

After the imprisonment of Cacama, Mutezuma proclaimed a Parliament, vnto the which came all the Seniors Comarcans; and being all together, he made the Oration following vnto them.

My kinsmen, friends and seruants, ye doe well knowe that eightene yeres I haue bene your king, as my fathers and Grandfathers were, and alwayes I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and ye vnto me good and obedient subiectes, and so I hope your will remaine all the dayes of my life. Ye ought to haue in remembrance, that either ye haue heard of your fathers, or else our Apeuines haue instructed you, that wee are not naturalles of this Countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, because our forefathers came from a farre Countrey, and their King and captaine who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying that hee would sende such as shoulde rule and gouerne vs, if by chaunce hee himselfe returned not. Beloeue ye assuredly, that the king which wee haue looked for so manie yeares, is hee that hath nowe sent these Spaniards, which ye here see. Who dooth certifie, that we are their kinsmen, and that they haue had notice of vs a long time: let vs therefore giue thanks vnto the Goddes, that nowe they are come in our dayes, being a thing that wee so much desired.

A sonde beliefe.

Ye shall nowe doe me seruice and pleasure, that ye yeelde your selues vnto this Captaine for vassals of the Emperoure King of Spaine, our soueraigne, I my selfe haue already yeilded me for his seruitor and friend, praying you that from hence forwardes ye obey him as ye haue obeyed me. And that ye yeelde and pay vnto him the tributes, customes and seruice that ye were wont to pay vnto me, and in so doing, ye can doe me no greater pleasure. His heart then would not suffer him to speake anye more, with the sobbes, sighes, and teares, that fell from his eyes. All his subiects there present fell into a crie, weeping and mourning, that for a good space they had no power to speake: they gaue shrikes, and sighings,

Poore Metu-
zuma.

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sighings, uttering with their mouthes many dolefull, and sorrowfull speeches, yea that it pittied our owne men at the hearts. But in conclusion, they answered that they would obey his commandement. Then Mutezuma and the Burgeses of Parliament in order yelded themselves for vassalls of the king of Castile, promising loyaltye. This act was set downe by the Notarie, and with witnesss authozised. Then the Indians departed home to their houses with sorrowful hearts, God knoweth, as you may imagine. It was a straunge thing to see Mutezuma weep, with so many Noble men and Gentlemen, yea and with what grief they became subiects to an unknowne Prince, but they could not otherwise do, seeing that Mutezuma did command the same.

A true propheticie.

Also they had a certaine Prognostication and forewarning by their Priests of the coming from the East parties a straunge people, white of colour and bearded men, who should winne and rule that countrey. Like wise there was a secret talke among them, that in Mutezuma should ende and finishe, not alone the linage of Culhua, but also the Empire and Kingdome: therefore some were of opinion, not to name him Mutezuma, which signifieth, agreed with misfortune. They say also that Mutezuma himselfe had many times answer of the Oracle of the Gods, that in him should finishe the Mexican Emperours, and that no childe of his should succede in his kingdome, and that hee should lose his seate in the eight yeare of his reign: and for these causes he would neuer procure war to withstand the Spaniards, believing that they should be his successors. Yet on the other side, he thought his opinion would take no place, so that he had reigned seven-ene yeares: But this should seeme to come from the providence of God, which giveth kingdoms and taketh them away.

Cortes

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Cortes gaue vnto Mutezuma mosse hartie thanks on the behalfe of the Emperour, and for himself, and comforted him, who was very sad, promising also that alwaies he should be king and Lord, and commaunde as heretofore he had done, and better, yea and also he should be chiefe ruler of all the other landes and countreys, that he shoulde gette and bying to the seruice of the Emperour.

The Golde and Iewels that Mutezuma
gaue vnto Cortez for tribute.



After certaine dayes that Mutezuma and his counsell had yelde their obedience, Cortes saide vnto him, how that the Emperour was at great costes and charges in his warres, wherefore it should be necessary that his newe vassals shoulde begin to serue in some thing, and to pay their tribute, willing him to sende throughtout his dominion to see what coulde be gathered of Gold, and that he himselfe shoulde beginne firste to pay tribute to the example of others. Mutezuma answered that he was contented so to doe, willing that some of his men shoulde goe vnto the house of foule for the same. There went many, and there saue golde in planches like bycke battes, Jewels, and peeces wrought in a hall and two chambers, which were opened vnto the. The Spaniards wondering at the sight, would not touch any thing, without giving firste aduertisement to Cortes, who incontinent went thither, and caused it all to be carried to his lodging: besides this treasure Mutezuma gaue vnto him rich clothes of cotton and feathers, maruelously wouen in figures & colours, it seemed without coparison, for the Spaniards had neuer sene the like: he gaue vnto him more, twelue shooting tronkes wherewith he himself

was

was

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was wont to pastime: some of them were painted with birds; beasts, flowers & trees very perfite, a worke surely much to be commended; and some of them were engraven very curiously, with their mouldes and pellets of golde.

He sente also his seruants by two and two, and five and five; eue company with one Spaniarde, to the Lordes of other prouinces, furelcoze, and a hundred leagues frō Mexico, to gather in golde for the accustomed tributes, and newe seruice to the Emperdur. Euery Lord and Seignior paide the quantitie appointed and taxed by Mu- tezuma, in golde, plate, iewels, stones and pearles.

The messengers returned, although they had taried somewhat long on their iourney, of whom Cortes received all that they brought, and caused it to be molten, out of the whiche was had in fine golde. 1600000, Castlins, of the value of seuen shillings and six pence the pēce, and rather more; and also five hundred markes of plate, after five Ducates the mark.

This treasure was deuised among the Souldiers, but not all: euery man was paide according to his office. The horsemen had twisse as much as the footemen. And Cortes was paide out of the stocke the money promised him in Vera Cruz.

There came to the kings parte, 32000 Castlins and a hundred markes of plate; the which was wrought there in platters, saucers, cuppes, ewers and other pēces, according to the Indian fashion, to be left to the Emperour. Besides this, the present that Cortes laide aside, and took out of the stocke to send to the Emperour, was worth 100000 Ducates, in pearles, precious stones, golde, and feathers; feathers and silver, and many other iewels, as the gallant trinkets, whiche beside their value were strange to behold, wrought with the manery aforesaide. This present appointed, was not sent, for that and all the rest was after

afterwarde lost at the troubles in *Mexico*, as hereafter shall moze plainly appeare.

How *Mutezuma* required Cortes to depart from *Mexico*.

Cortes seeing himselfe rich and mightie, he occupied himselfe in three things, the one was to sende unto *Santo Domingo* and other *Ilands*, newes of his proceedings and prosperitie, and also money to provide meene, horses and armour, for his owne company were too fewe for so greate a countrey. The other was, to take fully and wholly the estate of *Mutezuma*, having him prisoner, and also at his commandement *Tlaxcallan*, *Coatlicamath*, and *Tuchinlec*, knowing also that the Indians of *Panuco*, *Tecoantepec*, and *Mechuacan*, were most all enemies to the *Mexicans*, who would aide and assist him having neede of their helpe, his thirde pretence was, to procure all the Indians to be *Christened*, the which purpose he tooke first in hand, as a thing most needefull. On the other side, *Mutezuma* repented himselfe, having newes that *Pamphilo de Naruais* was arrived, who came as enemy to Cortes, yea and after all this, he was at length driven out of *Mexico*. These notable things shall be rehearsed in their order. But now *Mutezuma* came, and desired Cortes to depart out of his countrey, advising him that otherwise bothe he and his meene were in perill of killing, saying also, that three especiall causes moved him to this request: the one was, the dayly hate of his subiectes, who enspoynted him to come out of Captivitie, and to murder the *Spaniards*, saying, that it was a great shame for them to suffer theyr Prince to bee in prison in the power of so fewe strangers, whom they might use as a footstool: having dishonored the

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and robbed them of their gods, gathering and heaping
 up their golde for themselves, and for their king, who as
 seemed by their doings, was but a worse fellowe, and if he
 would not accept their offer and suite, that then of their
 owne authoritie they would take the thing in hande, for
 so much as hee refusing to be their king they would also
 refuse to be his vassals, giving warning and aduice that
 hee should looke for no better rewarde at the Spaniards
 hands, then Quialpopoca and Cacama his nephew had re-
 ceined, although they should slatter him neuer so much. *

An other cause was, that the Dinell had appeared vnto
 him, and willed him to kill those Christians, or dring
 them out of the lande, threatening him that if he did not
 so, that then hee would goe from him and neuer talke a-
 ny more with him, for (quoth he) with their gospels, bap-
 tisme and deuotion, they doe much displease me. Mute-
 zuma answered him, that there was no reason to kill them
 being his friends and honest men, but he would entreate
 them to depart, ~~and so they did~~. The Dinell answered that he
 should do so, and therein he would receiue great pleasure,
 for either he would goe his way and leaue him, or else
 that Christian fellows should depart, for they saue here
 (quoth he) a Christian faith the which is much against our
 Religion, and cannot dwell both together. Another cause
 was, that Mutezuma was not well pleased with the im-
 prisonment of Cacama, whom once he loved exceeding well:
 so in fine, secretly hee repented him of all that was past
 in the Spaniards fauour, and chiefly by the perswasion
 of the Dinell, who saide that he coulde not doe vnto him
 a more acceptable service, and of greater pleasure to the
 Goddes, then to expell the Spaniards and abolishe the
 name of Christians, and in so doing, the seate of things
 should not finish in the lineage of Culhua, but rather be en-
 larged, and his chyldre should raige after him, wishing him
 not

not to beleue in prophecies, sithence the eight yeare was
past, and was now in the eighteenth yere of his raigne.
For these causes, or possible for other which we knowe
not of, Muteczuma prepared an armie of a hundred thou-
sand men so secretly, that Cortez knewe not thereof, to the
effect, that if the Spaniards would depart, being
once more required, that then he meant not to leaue one
of them alive. With this determination, he came forth
one day into the yard or Court; and had long conference
and consultation with his Gentlemen about this mat-
ter. At his home, he sent for Cortez, who liked not this
newes, saying to himselfe, I pray God this message
be of good purpose, and taking twelve of his men which
were readiest at hand, went to knowe wherefore he had
sent for him. Muteczuma arose from the place where he
sate, and took Cortez by the hande, commanding a horse
to be brought for him, and so sate them downe both to-
gether, and begonne his talke as followeth. Sir, I beseech
you to depart from this Citie and Countrey, for my
Gods are sore offended with me, because I doe, and haue
permitted you here so long: demaunde of me what you
please, and it shall be given you, because I love you well:
and thinke you not, that I give you this warning in iest,
but rather in god earnest, therefore it is convenient, that
you depart. It seemed strange unto Cortez this talke. Also
he saw by the countenance of Muteczuma, that some thing
was a working, and before the interpreter of Muteczuma
had made an end of his talke, Cortez willed one of his me
to goe forthwith, and to aduise all his fellows, saying,
that the waight of their lines was in question. When our
men called to remembrance what was told the in Tlax-
callon, considering that it was needfull of courage & helpe
from God to bring them out of that danger. When Mu-
tezuma had ended his tale, I haue (quod Cortez) understood

A subtile Fox.

your meaning; and doe thank you for the same: also I would know when it is your pleasure that we should depart, and it shall be done. When taken it please you (quoth Mucozuma) take the time that you thinke meete; and against that time will I prepare: my humped weight of gold for you; and fifty pound weight of each of your men.

Cortez sayde, you knowe: that when I came into this countrey, I commaunded all my ships to be landed, so that now I have more ofttime commoditie to build vessels to carry us into our countrey: wherefore my request is, that you requite some of your Carpenters to be called, to cut downe timber for the purpose. I say I have men that can make the vessels. And this done, we will depart, so that ye give us the gold whith you have promised: and certifie you the same to your Gods and idols.

Mucozuma received great pleasure at this answer, and sayd: your request shall be fulfilled: and incontinent he sent for many Carpenters. Like wise Cortez prepared certaine of his marriages for his highnes. All the which workmen went into great woods of Pinetrees, and there cut downe the timber necessary for the purpose. Mucozuma being a simple man, gave the title to all Cortez his talke: Cortez likewise aduertised his men of his proceedings, and said unto them, Mucozuma would have us depart out of his Countrey, because his Vassals and the Diuill hath enticed him thereunto: wherefore it is necessary that we be in shipping, and therefore I pray you go with these Indians, and procure to cut downe the best timber fit for our purpose, and in the meane season God will provide for vs, whose affaires we have now in hand, of remedie and succour: in such sort that we: see not this fruitfull countrey goe into decay: that when you come into the wood, that you make all the delay possible, giving a shew that you are busie occupied, and with great desire to make

make an ende, that those Indians may suspect nothing of our pretence. Depart in Gods name, and aduice mee al-
wayes what doth passe in your affaires.

The feare that our men should inco be sacrificed.



As he laye after their departure for
work the woods, armed fiftene saile
of ships at the coast of Chalchicoeca.
The Indians of that coast aduised Mu-
tezuma the king, who was not a little
afraid with the newes, & called Cor-
tes to him, who feared as much for
himselfe as for them, and when they shewed

Cortes that Mutezuma was come forth into the yard, he
suspected that if Mutezuma pleased, they should be all be-
lieued. Therefore he sent into his men, masters & friends,
Mutezuma hath sent me, considering what passed this o-
ther day. I hold it for no good token, I now goe to knowe
his will: wherefore whatsoever happen, be you alwaies
vigilant and ready, commending your selues to God. Hee
meaneth also to whom ye are, and who are these Indians, ab-
horred of God, and friends vnto the diuell, without wea-
pon, & experience in war: if we chance to fight, the hands
of each of vs shall shew by deeds with sword, the valor and
courage of our hearts: and although we all die, yet
shall we remaigne with victorie, so that we haue fulfilled
the thing we take in hand, and the seruice which we owe
vnto God, as faithfull Christians, with our dutie as true
subjects to our prince. They all answered, saying, we will
do all our possibilitie, while life lasteth, without feare of
perill or danger, for we lesse esteeme death then honour.
With this answer, Cortes went to Mutezuma, who
saide vnto him, Senior Captaine, you shall vnderstande
that

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That now you haue ships wherein you may depart, therea
foze now at your pleasure make you ready.

Cortes answered, not knowing of the shipping, saying,
Wightie sir, when my ships are finished I will depart,
nay (quoth Morezuma) I meane not these ships, for there
are arrived eleuen other shippes at the coast neare vnto
Zempoallan, and shortly I shall be certified, whether the
people that are come in them, are come a shoze, and then
shall we knowe what people, and how many are in num-
ber. Blessed be Iesus Christ (quoth Cortes) vnto whome
I giue most heartie thanks for his great mercies shewed
vnto me, and to the Gentlemen of my companie. One
of Cortes his men went to shewe the glad tidings to their
followers, who then receyued double strength, praying
God, and embracing one another with great pleasure
and joy. And Cortes with Morezuma being in commu-
nication together, came another post, who brought newes
of fourescore horsemen that were landed, with eight hun-
dred footmen, and twelue peeces of Ordnance, & shewes
painted in a cloth the whole relation, both of men, horses,
ships, and Ordnance.

At the time
of neede pro-
uideth God.

Morezuma hearing the newes that this post had
brought, arose from his seat, and take Cortes in his
arms, saying, now do I maye loue you, then I haue done
heretofore, and will this day dine with you. Cortes gaue
him thanks for the one and the other, and in this sort
went hande in hand to Cortes his Chamber, who willed
his Spaniards not to make any extraordinarie joy, or al-
teration, but that they should keepe all together with
vigilant watch, and to giue heartie thanks vnto God for
the comfortable newes. Morezuma and Cortes dined
together with great content and pleasure, the one thin-
king to abide and to enioy the kings State and Countrey,
the other thinking that then they would auoid the land.

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But notwithstanding all these imaginations, a certaine Indian Captaine importuned Mutezuma secretly to kill all Cortes his menne, being but few in number, and then should he be the readier to dispatch the others that were newly come, and not to permitte them to ioyne one with another: yea and againe, when the newe come menne should know of the death of their countrey men, they would not presume to abide in the lande.

With this counsell Mutezuma called many his friends and chiefe estates to counsell, propounding the case and iudgement of the Captaine, which being among them thoroughly heard, there were many of sundry opinions, but the conclusion was, to permitte the other Spaniards to come, saying, the more enemies, the more gaine, and if we kill but those whiche are here, then the others will returne to their shippes, and so shall we not make the solemne sacrifice of them to the Gods, according to our desire. Mutezuma was occupied in this counsell with five hundred noblemen and Gentlemen dayly, and according to determination, they commaunded to cherish and serue Cortes and his company more then ordinary, saying their joy was at an ende.

How James Velasques sent Pamfilo de

Narvais against Cortes.



James Velasques being soze agrieved, with desire of reuenge against Cortes, not onely for his expences at the time of preparation of Cortes his flacte, whiche was but small, but of more hatred of the present honour and prosperity of Cortes. Whereupon he instructed great causes & quarrels against him, saying, and alleging, that Cortes, hadde not giuen

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account of his proceedings vnto him, being Gouvernour of Cuba, and Cortes his deputie, but rather without his consent and knowledge, had sent to Spaine to the King, aduice of his discovery, as who would say, that was treason, or an euill fact: but chiefly his fury was, knowing howe Cortez had sent an honorable present, with the kings part or portion of treasure vnto Spaine, yea and whole relation of the discovery, with Francisco de Monteio, and Alounso Fernandez Portocarrero, the whiche proceedings James Velasques meant to disturbe; for that he had laide in ambush a couple of caruels, to haue taken Cortes his present, and messengers, the which his pretence and purpose toke no place, so that with the prosperous newes of Cortes, his furie and madnesse the more encreased, imagining stil his destruction.

And being occupied in these sonde imaginations, it happened that his Chaplin, one Benigo Martine, brought letters from the Emperoure vnto him, with title and letters patentes, of Generall and chiefe Gouvernour of all that then was discovered, inhabited, and conquered in the land and coast of Yucatan. With this newes, Velasques began to triumph, not only so much for the honour, as also to driue Cortes from Mexico. Whereupon, he incontinent prepared his flecte or shipp of eleuen shippes, and seven Bergantines, with nine hundred men, and foure score horses, and appointed one Ramilo de Naruaiz for Captaine Generall, and his Deputie, in the regiment of the Countrey: and for his more quicker dispatch, he himselfe wente with him throughout that Ilande, till they came to Guaniguanico, which is the Westermost harbor of the Ilande, and being there, Naruaiz ready to depart for Mexico, and Velasques to returne to Cuba, came the Licenciat Lucas Vasques de Aillon, chief Iudge of Santo Domingo, in name of the whole Chancery, to require Velasques

lasques vpon great penalties, that he should not permit to suffer Pamfilo de Naruaes to proceede on that voyage against Cortes, which woulde be cause of murder, ciuill warres, and other mischiefes among the Spaniards, yea and that Mexico should be in daunger of losing, with all the rest that was conquered, and in quiet to the Kings vse, saying vnto him mozeouer, that if there were any discord betwene them for gods, or poynts of honour, that then it did appertaine to the Emperour to iudge, and to determine the cause, and not that hee himselfe should be iudge in his owne cause, vsing force against the other partie, praying them for the seruice of God & the King, that if they would goe to conquire, that then they should seeke other Countreyes, hauing so good an army and fléete, and Countreies inough to seeke. This diligence, request and authoritie of the Licenciado Aillon, to Velasques and Naruaez preuailed not: he seeing their obstinacie and litle regard to him being a chiefe Iudge, determined to go with Naruaez in his Shippe, to let and disturbe the great hurt that might followe, thinking there in the new Spaine to perswade Naruaes, better then in the presence of Velasques, yea and also if need should be, to be a meane of quietnesse betwixt them. A noble Iudge.

Pamfilo de Naruaes, tooke shipping in Guaniguanico, and sailed till he came néer vnto Vera Crux, with al his fléete, and hauing intelligence that there were a hundzeth and fiftie Spaniards of Cortes his band, he sent vnto them a Priest, with one Iohn Ruiz de Gueuara, & Alonso de Vergara, to require them to receiue him for their Captains and Conernors. But the new Citizens would giue no eare to their talk, but rather apprehended them, and sent them prisoners to Mexico to Cortes, to aduertise him of their embassage, whereupon Naruaes unshipped his men, horses, armor, artillery, & went with them directly to Zempoallá.

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The Indian Comarcans being as well friends to Cortes, as vassals to Mutezuma, gaue vnto him golde, mantels, and victualles, thinking that they had bene Cortes his men.

The substance of a Letter that Cortez wrote vnto Mutezuma.

BEfoze Cortes knew the effect of the comming of this newe fléete, his head was soze troubled, soz, on the one side he was glad of the comming of his owne nation, on the other side, he lyked not so great an army. Like wise he imagined, that if they came to succour him, hee helde the Countrey soz conquered: also if that they were come against him, hee iudged the Countrey to bee lost. He iudged also, that if they were come from Spaine, that then they had brought to him the thing looked for, but if they were come from Cuba, he feared ciuill warres. He also thought, that from Spaine could not come so many folke in so short space. Finally, he deemed, that his olde enemy Iames Velasques was come personally, but when he knew the whole truth, then was hee much moze pen-siue, thinking that the thread of his prosperitie was cut asunder, yea, and that they would bee a meane to stoppe the gappes of the whole discovery, both of the secretes of the land, mines, and treasure, as also, in the knowledge of the friends or enemies of Mutezuma. It should be also a let to inhabite the places which he had begunne, yea and also to Chrysten the Indians, which was the principall thing that he pretended, yea & a let or stop of many other things begun in the seruice of God and the prince, fearing also by flying from one inconuenience, to fall into many, and also if he should permit Pamphilo de Naruaes to come vnto Mexico, it should bee a meane of his perdition:

if like wise he should encounter him, he feared some rebellion in the Citie, and the setting at libertie of Mutezuma, putting in perill his owne honour, life, and trauaile; and to auoyde all these daungers and inconueniences, he determined remedie. First, he dispatched two men, the one vnto Iohn Velasques de Leon, who was gone to inhabite at Cozacocalco, willing him at the sight of his letter to repaire vnto Mexico, giuing him aduise of the coming of Naruaez, and of the great néede that he stood in, of him and his company. The other messenger he sent to Vera Crux, to bring full relation of the arriual of Naruaes, and what was his pretence.

The letter sent to Iohn Velasques, came no soner to his hande, but forthwith he obeyed and fulfilled the same, contrary to the expectation of Naruaes, for hee was his brother in law, and kinsman vnto Iames Velasques. Cortes seeing his constancy, had him euer after that time in great estimation.

From the Vera Crux came twentie of the towne men with certificat what Naruaes had published, and brought with them a priest, with Alonso Gueuara, and Iohn Ruiz de Vergara, who had comen to Vera Crux to amotue the towne, under colour that they had brought the commission from the king. Cortes on the other side, sent vnto Naruaes signior Bartholome de Olmedo, with other two Spaniards, to offer vnto him his friendship, & other wise to require & commaund him on the behalf of the king and of his owne, as chiefe iustice of the land, and in the name of his rulers and Aldermen of the towne of Vera Crux, who were then in Mexico, and that he should enter peaceably, without making any alteration until his authoritie and commission were seene and allowed, and to make no slander or by-rote to his hindzance of the king his maiesties proceedings.

But all this diligence & letters of Cortes and the other

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rulers prevailed not, he seeing this, set at liberty the priest that was brought prisoner, and sent him unto Naruaez, with certaine rich collers of golde, and other iewels with a letter, wherein he wrote, that he was moze gladder of his comming in that state then any other, for the friendship and olde acquaintance that had bene betwixt them, desiring him that they might talke and confer together, alone, for to take order to prohibite wars, sedition, bloodshed and disquietnesse among them, being of one nation and brethren, requesting him to shew his commission from the king unto him, or unto the counsell of Vera Crux, and he would willingly obey it as reason did require: and if he had not brought any such commission, yet he would make some honest agrément with him. Pamilo de Naruaes seeing himselfe strong and mightie, did little regard Cortes his letters, offers, nor requests, and chiefly because James Velasques was soze displeased with Cortes.

The talke of Naruaez to the Indians,
and his answer to Cortes.

A foule brag.

PAmphilo de Naruaez, declared to the Indians that they were deceiued with their opinion in Cortes, for that he alone was Captain Generall and chief Lord, and that Cortes was but a naughty man, and so were all they of his company which are now in Mexico, who were all but his boyes, and that his present comming was to cut off Cortes his head, and to chasten the others, likewise he meant to drive them all out of the countrey, and then to depart himselfe, and to leave them in full libertie.

The Indians gaue credite to his talke, seeing so many bearded men and boyes, and thereupon began to attende and serue him, leauing their olde friends in Vera Crux.
Also

Also Naruaes began to flatter Mutezuma, and sent him word that Cortes abode in that country against the will of his prince, and that he was a couetous rebell, who robbed his country, and that he pretended to kill Mutezuma and to make himselfe king. Also that his coming was to set him at libertie, and to restore vnto him all that those wicked fellowes had taken from him. And because that others should take example of their factes, he would command them all to be slaine, willing him to take no care, for in short space they would see each other. And that when he had set him at libertie with restitution of his goods, he would incontinent depart his country. These treaties were so foule and abominable, with the iniurious wordes which Pamfilo de Naruaes spake openly against Cortes and his men, yea they seemed odious vnto all his own host and army, & some of his owne men checked him for the same, especially Bernardine de Santa Clara, who seeing the country so peaceable, and so wel pleased with Cortes, he could not let but reprehend Naruaes in his wordes. Also the licenciat Aillon required him diuerse times to cease from his slanderous talke, vpon paine of death, & losse of his goods, and also not to proceed toward Mexico, for the great hurt that might ensue, with slander among the Indians, dishonour among the Spaniards, and offence to the Emperour his Maiestie. Pamfilo de Naruaes being mofued with his talke laide hand vpon Aillon, being a chiefe iudge for the king, and apprehended also his secretary, and an other officer, and forthwith shipped them, & sent them to James Velasques gouernour of Cuba. But when Aillon saw himselfe at sea, and free from Naruaes, he began to threaten the Spaniers, commanding them not to presume to carrie him to Cuba to Velasques his power, but only to Santo Domingo, where he was one of the kings counsell in chancery: the mariners fearing the kings iustice, obeyed his commandment,

and

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A cruell proclamation.

A mad reckoning.

A good Captaine and wise.

and when he was apozted at Santo Domingo, he toholly enforzmed the Councell there, of Naruaes and his wicked dealing, whose testimonie and information did much blemish the credit of Velasques, & exalt the trauels of Cortes. After that Naruaes had shipped away Aillon, he proclaimed warre, with fire and sword against Cortes, and promised certaine markes of Golde to him that should apprehend or kill him, or Pedro de Alvarado, and Gonfalo de Sandoual, with other principall persons of his companie. Also he made diuision of his goods among his men because they came to possesse it. Surely these three points were of a man without wisdom or discretion.

Many of Naruaes his companie did amotue themselves, through the commandement of the Licenciat Aillon, and through the same and liberalitie of Cortes. Whereupon incontinent one Pedro de Villalobos a Portugingall, and five or seven more fled vnto Cortes, yea and others wrote vnto him, offering themselves to his service, if by chaunce they should encounter.

Cortes receiued the letters, but kept in silence from his companie the firmes of those which had written to him. Some do thinke that Cortes had suborned them with letters, faire promises, yea, and a hoyle load of chaines and planches of golde, which he sent secretly to Naruaes his campe with a seruant of his, publishing likewise, that he had an army of two hundred Spaniards in Zempoallan, where he had none at all: these policies might well be, for he was prudent, carefull and quicke in his businesse, and Pamfilo de Naruaes was stouthfull and carelesse.

Naruaes made answer to Cortes his letter by seignior Bartholome de Olmedo, the substance of his message was, that forthwith hee should repaire to the place where he was abiding, and there he should see the Emperors commission and order, wherein was authoritie giuen to him to take

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take and keepe that countrey for James Velasques, yea and that already he had made a towne of men onely, with all officers there vnto appertaining.

After this letter and message sente, he dispatched likewise one Barnaldino de Quesada and Alonso de Mata, to require Cortes to depart and leaue the countrey vpon pain of death, and to notifie vnto him these actes : by order of law. Cortes laide hande vpon Alonso de Mata, because he named himselfe the kings spotary, and shewed no title or authoritie for the same.

The talke that Cortez had with his
owne souldiers.



Cortes perceiuing the small fruite that his letters (presentes) and messengers, obtained at the handes of Naruaes, and that in no case, he woulde shewe his commission whiche came from the king, he determined to goe vnto him, and according to the olde Proverbe, face to face doth get respect, and likewise if it were possible, to agree vpon some good order and quietnesse: wher vpon he sent Rodrigo Aluares his suruey, with Iohn Velasques, and Iohn del Rio, to treat with Naruaes of many matters, wherof three things were the principallest. The first was, that the y two might meete alone, or els so many, for so many, and that Naruaes shuld permit Cortes to abide in Mexico, and he withall his company shoulde conquere Panuco or other kingdoms, also y Cortes would pay the charges, and haue consideration to gratifie his souldiers, or else that Naruaes shuld abide in Mexico, and deliuer vnto Cortez. 400. of his men, to the intent y with them, and his owne men he might proceede to seeke other countreyes to conquere. Laste of all, he required to see the

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kings commission, for that he would obey the same. Naruaes liked none of these offers, only he accepted that they should make together with each of them ten Gentlemen for security, bound with solemn oaths, and affirmed this agreement with their names. But it took no effect, for Rodrigo Aluares advised Cortes that Naruaes had made a snare to apprehend him, or to kill him at their meeting. Cortes understood the matter, or else he had some other intelligence by some that loved him well. And this former agreement taking no place, Cortes determined to goe unto him.

But before his departing, he declared unto his company, saying, I trust ye haue in remembrance what & how much I haue done for you, since the beginning of this enterprise, yea & also how lovingly and friendly ye haue dealt for me? Ye shall now understand that James Velasques, in stead of thanks giving vs, hath sent to murder vs, Pamfilo de Naruaes, who is a stubborn and an unreasonable man, one ready to execute our good desertes done in the seruice of God and our Prince, with an euil reward. And the cause is only, for doing our dutie in the sending of the kings parte and portio to his Royall person & not unto him. Also this Naruaes hath already confiscated our goods, and given them to other men, and our bodies condemned to the Gallows, yea and our fame and honour plaide at tables, with great iniurious and slanderous wordes proclaimed against vs, which things truly are not of a Christian, no nor yet we with Gods helpe will let the matter so to slippe: yea and though we ought to leaue the reuengment unto God, yet we will not suffer them to enioy our trauals and paines, who are now comen white fingered to spoile the blood of their neighbours, yea and like made men to striue against their owne nation, sowing slander among those Indians which serued vs as our friends, yea & procuring more cruel warres, then the ciuill war betwene Mario & Silla, or of
Cesar

the west India.

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Cesar and Pompeio, who turned vs into the Romaine Empire. Therefore I do determine to meet him by ſome way, and not to ſuffer him to come vnto Mexico, for it is better to ſay, God ſaue you, then they to come & ſay who is there : yea & though they are many, a good heart doth breake euil fortune, as it hath appered by vs, who haue paſſed through the pikes ſince our coming hither : moreouer, I doubt not but that many of Naruaez his company will come vnto vs. Therefore my deare friends do I giue you aduiſe of my pretence, to the intent that thoſe which will goe with me, may prepare themſelues, and thoſe that will not, let them remain to keep Mexico and Mutezuma, which is as much in effect. At the end of his talke he promiſed great rewards if that with victorie hee returned. His men answered all with one voyce, that they were all at his commandement, and readie to fulfill his will, yet ſome feared the pride and blindneſſe of Pamilo de Naruaes : on the other ſide the Indians began to be luſkie, to ſee diſſention among the Spaniards, and that the Indians of the coaſte were ioyned in league with the new come men.

The requests of Cortez to Mutezuma.

After all this talke and anſwere of his ſouldiers, hee went to viſit and to commune with Mutezuma for to depart on his iourney, with ſome what the leſſer care, and alſo to proue the mind and will of Mutezuma, vnto whom he uttered his mind as followeth. Sir, you know the loue that I haue, and deſire to ſerue you, and chiefly the truſt againe, that you will haue to my companions when I am gone from this Citie. Therefore I pray you, that it may pleaſe you to remaine here in this lodging, and to haue regarde vnto theſe ſtraungers, which I leaue with you : alſo I commend vnto you, the golde and Iewelles which is in their cuſtodie, and giuen vnto vs of your owne liberalitie. For I doe now goe to ſignifie vnto thoſe

Oh wife
Cortes.

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which of late are comen in the new fléete, how your highnesse both commaunde that I departe from this land, and that they doe not agrauate or molest your subiectes, nor yet presume to enter into your countrey, but that they remaine on your coast, vntill we bee readie to departe with them, according to your will and pleasure. And if in the meane season, any of your subiects be so vnadvised, as to molest my men, which now remaine in your power and Guard, that then it may please you to be their shield, succour, and onely defence. Mutezuma promised to fulfil his request, wishing him mozeouer, that if any in his iourney should offend him, then immediatly to aduise him, and that he would send his men of war to chassen them, yea and also (if it pleased him,) he would giue vnto him guides to safe conduct him through his owne dominion to the Sea coast, who should provide him of all necessities by the way. Cortes kissed his handes for his curtesie, with moste hartie thanks for the same, and gaue vnto him certaine Spanishe apparell, and other glasse Jewels, and also other like treasure to his noble men, which stood by at all the talke. But in effect he tolde him not what he pretended to doe, nor yet the newes of Pamfilo de Naruaes his proceedings was not come to his eare, or else, it may be that Mutezuma dissimuled the matter with inwarde pleasure, that one Christian should kill the other, thinking thereby to haue most sure his libertie, and the Goddes pleased.

The imprisonment of Pamfilo de Naruaez.

Cortes was so well beloued among his companie, that they offered willingly to goe with him, by reason whereof he chose .250. men fitte for his iourney, and other .200. in guard of Mutezuma and the Citie, with

with Pedro de Aluarado, for their Captaine. He left al-
so with them the artillarie, and foure shoyls ready made,
to haue the lake in subiection, beseeching them onely to
haue speciall regarde, that Mutezuma fled not from them
to Naruaes, and not to permit him to goe out of their fort
or strong house.

With those few Spaniards Cortes toke his iourney
with no more but eight or nine Hoxslemen, and certaine
Indians for his seruice, and cariage.

Passing through Chololla and Tlaxcallon, he was ho-
nourably receiued and lodged, and about fiftene leagues
from Zempoallan, where Naruaes was abiding, he mette
with two Priests, and his olde especiall friend Andres de
Duero, who had lent him money for the setting forth of
that voyage. These three persons came to require him to
obey the Generall lately come as Lieutenant to the Go-
uernour Velasques, and to deliuer vnto him the countrey,
with all the fortres or Castles therein, aduising him, that
if he would not accomplish the same, that then he woulde
proceede against him, euen as an enemy and Rebelle, to
the execution of death. Likewise, if he would fulfill the
request made vnto him, that then he should haue libertie,
and conuenient shipping to depart, both for him, and as
many as would goe with him. Cortes answered, that he
would rather suffer death, then to leaue the Countrey,
which hee had conquered and pacified with his handes
and industrie, without anie commaundement from the
Emperour: and (quoth he) if agaynst all equitie and iu-
stice, he will contend with me in warre, I will defend me
as well as I may, and if I haue the victorie (as I trust in
God, and the right that I haue on my side,) I shall not
stand in neede of shipping, and if I be slaine, much lesse.
Wherefore I doe require him to shewe vnto me his com-
mission and authoritie had from the Emperour, for vntill

A stout man.

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I doe both see and read the same, I will accept no agreement: and if (quoth he) that he refuse the same, that then I dare warne, admonish, and require him to returne to Cuba, the place from whence he came, and if he wil not obey my pcept, I will then apprehend him, and sende him prisoner in yrons to the Emperour: and with this aunswere dispatched the thre messengers, sending also a Notarie of his owne, to commaund him to take his shipping, and to depart without making any alteration in the country, or the ensuing of further murders and strife and if not, that upon Whitunday, which was within thre dayes following, he meant to bee with him at supper. Pamfilo de Naruaes made a mockerie and least at his commaundement, and toke Prisoner the Notarie which came from Cortes, with that order, holding Cortes for madde, who made so many braggies with so small a companie. And befoze Iohn Velasques de Leon, and Iohn de Rio, Cortes his friends, he mustred his men, who were in number fourescore bargabushers, a hundred and twentie Crossebowes, five hundred men with other weapon, and fourescore Horsemen, saying, how will Cortes defend himselfe against vs, nay at length he will know his dutie: he promised money to him that should either kill, or take Cortes prisoner. And the same offer made Cortes against Pamfilo, who made a rounde of his footemen, and skirmished with his Horsemen, shooting off his artillarie, to put in feare the poore Indians.

Anvncertaine
reckoning.

Naruaes signified againe unto Mutezuma with the messengers, who caried all the triumph and muster painced, all his former dealings, but hearing that Cortes was nere at hand, he sent out his light Horsemen to discry his Campe.

All Naruaes his Horses were readie saddled and bridled, and his men armed, Cortes entred so close and secret that

that no man almost heard him, and the first worde he spake, hauing all his men within with him, was, shut the gates, and strike, downe with him. There were at that time many shining wormes, which with their glittering seemed matches of Hargabush, so that if one pæce at that time had bene discharged, they would haue bene in a great feare.

Naruaes being about to put on his princie coate, came one vnto him, saying: Sir, Cortes is nere your lodging, let him come in (quoth he) for he cometh to talke with me. Naruaes had his men in foure Towers of his lodging, and he himselfe was in the one, with a hundred Spaniards, and at his doze thirtene pæces of Ordnance ready charged. Cortez commanded his chiefe Shyrisse, Gonfallo de Sandoual, with fortie or fiftie of his selowes, to go vp into Naruaes his chamber, and he himself with other twentie men abode at the doze to defende and keepe that none might enter thereat, vntil he had finished his businesse. The residue of his men besieged the other Towers, so that they might not succour one another.

Naruaes hearing the noyse, would needes fight, although he was required to stay his handes, and coming out at his Chamber doze, they strake out one of his eyes with a pike, and then they laide hande vpon him, dragging and drawing him downe the stappes by the heeles, and when he saue himselfe brought befoze Cortes, he sayde, oh Senior Cortes, thanke your great fortune in hauing my person prisoner: who answered him A darke night for Naruaes. gaine, oh Naruaes, the hauing of thy body prisoner, is the least thing that I haue done, since I came into this land. Cortes commaunded forthwith to lay him in yrons, and to carrie him to the rich towne of Vera Crux, where he abode prisoner certaine yeares.

This combat endured but a while, for within one hour
Pamfila

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Pamfilo de Naruaes, and the chieftest of his companie were taken prisoners, and their weapons & armor taken from all the rest. There were slaine of Naruaes his men sixtē, and of Cortes his side were killed only two persons with a peece of Ordnance. They had no leysure to giue fire to their Ordnance, with the great diligence and hast of Cortez, sauing vnto one peece that killed the two men. The touch holes were stopped with ware, thzough the great raine that had fallen. By this meane those that were ouercome, did take occasion to imagine that Cortes had suborned the master gunner, and others.

Cortes vsed great sobyietie and discretion, so; he would not permitte any of the prisoners to bee reuiled or misused with any iniurious wordes, no no; yet Naruaes, who had spoken so much euill of him, although many of his men desired reuengement. Pedro de Maluenda seruant to Iames Velasques, who was chiefe Stewarde to Naruaes, fledde to the Shippers with all the stuffe that he coulo get, without any let of Cortez. Here may you see what difference and aduantage is betwixt man and man, what did each of these Captiues say, thinke, and doe, seldome time both happen, that so few of one nation both ouercome so many of the same nation, especially the greater number being fresh, lustie, and in a strong holde.

The Rebellion of Mexico against Cortez.



After that Cortes had obtained victorie against Naruaes, he knew very wel the most part of his company, vnto whom he spake courteously, praying them to forget the things past, and so would he also. And also likewise, that it might please

please them to goe with him to Mexico, which was the richest Citie of all that India. He also restozed to euery man his armour and weapons, which were taken from them in their ouerthrow. He also left very fewe of them prisoners with Naruaes. The Hostemen toke the feld with stomacke to fight, but after they had heard of his offer, they submitted themselues. In conclusion, all those that were come, hoping of spoyle, were glad to accept his offer, and to goe with him with faithfull promise truly to serue him.

He receiued his power in Vera Cruz, and brought thither the nauie of Naruaes. He also dispatched two hundred Spaniards to the riuer of Garay, and sent also John Velasques de Leon with other two hundred men, to inhabite of Coazacoalco. He dispatched also a Spaniard by poste to Mexico, with newes of the victorie, and he himselfe followed towarde Mexico, with the great care that he had of those whome hee had left there in garde of Mutezuma and the Citie.

The Poste that went on this iourney, in steede of thanks, was soze wounded by the Indian Rebelles, but although he was so hurte, yet he returned to Cortes, with newes that Mexico was revolted, and that they had burned the foure foylles, also assieged the Spanishe house, and throwne downe a wall, and myned another, yea and set fire vppon the munition, taken away their vittailles, and had broughte them to such extremitie, to be either slaine, or remaine prisoners, saying that Mutezuma commaunded to cease the combatte, yea and for all that they woulde not leaue their armoure, nor depart from the siege, only they somewhat amayned their furie for their princes sake.

These newes were soze rowfull to Cortes, soze thereby his pleasure was turned into care, the rather to make

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hast to succoure his friends and fellows, so; if he hadde delayed his coming, but a small while, he had founde them eyther slaine, or else their bodies ready to sacrifice: but his greatest comforte was, that Mutezuma remained still prisoner. He mustered his men in Tlaxcallan, and founde of his Spanishe nation a thousand souldiers, and nere a hundred horsemen. He proceeded forwarde toward Tezcucó, where he founde none of the Gentlemen of his acquaintance, nor yet he there was received, as in time past he had bin, but rather he found a greate alteration, in the Countrey, and also many towne without people, or else rebelled. Tezcucó met with him a Spaniarde, whome Alvarado had sente to desire him to come vnto them, and to certifie him of all the premises, saying: morouer, that with his coming their surges would be pacified.

With this messenger came another from Mutezuma, who declared vnto Cortes, that his Lord was innocent of all that was done, praying him, that if he had conceived any euill opinion againste him, to putte away the same againe, and that it might please him to goe directly to his own house, where he abode his coming, with the Spanishe garde that he hadde lefte with him, who were alieue and in good healthe as he hadde lefte them.

With this message, Cortes and his companie reposed all that night, and the next day, being Wednesday, he entred into Mexico at dinner time, with his hundred horsemen, and the thousand souldiers, with a greate companie of the friends of Tlaxcallan, Huexcinco, and Cholollá, but he saw but few folke in the streets, and small entertainment, with many bridges broken, and other euill tokens.

He came to his lodging, and all those of his companie.

nie whiche coulde not well be lodged there, he sent them to the great Temple. Mutezuma came forth into the yard to receiue him, full beaute and sorrowfull, as it seemed, of that offence which his subiectes had done, excusing himselfe: and then euerie one entred into his lodging and Chamber: but the ioy and pleasure of Pero de Aluado was incomparable, saluting the one the other, with demaundes and questions howe they fared, yea and how much the one company declared of prosperitie and pleasure, the other againe replied as much of sorrow and trouble.

The causes of the Rebellion.



Ortes procured to knowe the principall cause of the insurrection of the Mexican Indians, and hauing a generall day of hearing, the charge being laide against them, some said, that it was through the letters & persuasion of Naruaes; Others answered, their desire and meaning was, to expell the straungers, according to agrémente made, for in theyr skirmishes they cryed nothing but gette you hence, get you hence: Other sayde, that they pretended the libertie of Mutezuma, for in their Combates they woulde saye, lette goe oure God and King, if you list not to be slaine. Others saide, that they were Thēues, and hadde robbed theyr golde and plate from them, which was in valewe moze then seauen hundred thousande duckettes: Others cryed, here shall you leaue the golde that you haue taken from vs. Others saide, that they coulde not abyde the sighte of the Tlaxcaltecas, and other theyr mortall enemies. Manye beleued that the mutinye was for throwing downe theyr Goddes and Idoles:

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each of these causes were sufficient to rebell, howe much more altogether.

But the chiefest and most principall cause was, that after the departure of Cortes towarth Nauuacs, happened a solrmine holiday, which the Mexicans were wont to celebrate, and desiring to obserue the same, as they were wont to do, they came and besought Captaine Aluaro to graunt them licence, and not to imagine that they were ioyued together to kill the Spaniards. Aluaro gaue them licence, with such conditions, that in their sacrifice shoulde no mans blood bee spilde, no; yet to weare any weapon.

At this feast, five hundred Gentlemen and principall persons ioyued together in the great Temple: some to say, that they were more then a thousande persons of greates estate, but that night they made a marvellous great noise, with cornets, shels, clouen bones, where with they made a straunge musick: they celebrated the feast, their naked bodies couered with teile, made and wrought with pious stones, rollers, girdles, bracelets, and many other Jewels of golde, silver, and aliofar, with gallant tusses of feathers on their heades. They daunced a daunce called Mazcualizli, which is to say, deserte with paine, and so they call Mazauaj, a husbandman. This daunce is like Netotilizli, which is another daunce. The manner is, that they lay mattes in the Temple yerde, and with the sounde of their Drummes, called Atabals, they daunce a round, hande in hande, some singing, and others answere, which songes were in the honor and praise of the God of Saintes, whose feast it is, hoping for this seruice to haue raine, come, health, victorie, peace, children, or anye other thing that they may wish for, or desire.

These Indian Gentlemen being occupied in their dauncing and ceremonies, it fortuned that Pedro de Alvarado went to the Temple of Virzilopuchli to beholde their doings, and whether his going was of his owne accorde, or by the consent of his companie I am not certaine, although some saye that he was aduised how the mutinie was there conspired, as after did follow: others holde opinion, that their onely going to the Temple was to beholde the maruailous and straunge daunce. And then seeing them so richly attired, they coueted their Gold and Jewels which they ware, and besieged the Temple with tenne Spaniards at each doore, and the Captaine entred in with fiftie men, and without any Christian respect slew and murdered them all, and toke from them all their treasure. Although this fact seemed odious vnto Cortes, yet he dissimuled the matter, for feare least he should hurt his owne proceedings, as time did the require, not knowing what neede he might haue of them, but especially to auoide contention among his company.

The threatnings of the Mexicans
against the Spaniards.



The cause of this rebellion, being well knowen, Cortes demaunded how their enemies fought, many (quoth they) after they had taken weapon against vs for the space of ten dayes are w, they neuer ceased with great fury to assault and combat our house, and we with feare least Mutezuma should escape and see vnto Naruais, durst not goe out of doores to fight in the streets, but onely to defende the house with especiall care of Mutezuma, according to your charge giue vnto vs, Also we being but few, and the Indians many,

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who still refreshed their men; they did not only weary vs, but also put vs in great feare and cleane out of courage, yea, and if at the greatest byunt Mutezuma personally had not ascended to the toppe of the wall, commanding them if euer they meant to see him aline, to stay and cease from their enterprise.

At the sight of Mutezuma they were all amazed, and incontinent ceased the combat and assault. They said also that with the newes of the victorie had agaynst Pamfilo de Naruaes, Mutezuma required his men to leaue off from their presence: notwithstanding the Indians calling to remembrance, that Cortes was coming with a greater company, at whose returne they should haue the moze to doe, began a fresh to assault the house, whereupon some doe thinke, that it was agaynst the will of Mutezuma. But it followed, that one day the Spaniards standing in great perill, charged their greatest peece of ordnance, & giuing fire, the peece discharged not: the Indians seeing the same, beganne a fresh with a marvellous terrible noyse, vsing stauies, bowes, launces, and stones, that came as thicke as haile, saying, now we will we redeeme our king, sette our houses at libertie, and reuenge our iniuries. But in the midst of their furie the peece went off, without any moze pyiming or touch, with a great and scarefull thundering, the peece being great and full of hayle shotte, with the maine pellotte, made a straunge spoyle among them, and with feare they retired. But yet they began to say, well, well, *Howly shall your flesh be boyled, although we meane not to eat it; for truly it is very carraine, and good for nothing.* But yet we will bestow the same vpon the Eagles, Lions, Tigers, and Snakes, who shal be the graues for your filthy carcases.

But forthwith if ye let not Mutezuma depart, and re-
store him to his libertie, ye shall quickly haue your re-
ward

ward for your presumption and pride, who durst be so bold as to lay hand on Mutezuma being our God and Lord, that giueth vs our dayly foode. And yet yee with your filthy thēues hantes presumed to touch him, oh why dooth not the earth open & swallow you, which taketh other mens gods? But marke the ende, for our Gods whose religion you did prophane, will rewarde you according to your desert: and if they do not shortly execute their wrath, then let vs alone, for we will out of hand make an ende of you. And as for those thēues and villaines of Tlaxcallan your slaves, shall not depart praysing their games, who nowe presume to take their maisters wiues, yea & to demanda tribute of them, vnto whome they themselves are tributors. These and such like wer the words of the Mexicans. But our men, although they were in a marvellous feare, yet they repprehended their folly as touching Mutezuma, saying that Mutezuma was no God, but a mortal man as they were, and no better, and that their Gods were vaine idols, and their religion most false and abhominable, and that onely our God was holy, iust, true, and infinite.

The great extremitie and danger that our men were put in by the Mexicans.



A hearing the former talk in defence of the house, and prouiding of things necessarie, the night passed away. And in the morning to prouene the Mexicans intent, Cortes commanded the marked to be bled as in time past. Aluarado wished Cortes to shew himself toward him as agréed & not well pleased, making as though he would apprehend & correct him for the things passed, thinking that Mutezuma & his men would

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would haue entreated for him. Cortes passed not for that talke, saying that they were infidels, diuelliſh and wicked people, with to whom ſuche complementes ſhould not be vſed.

But he commaunded a certaine principall Gentleman of Mexico, who ſtoode there preſent, that out of hand he ſhould commaund the market to be furniſhed as in times paſt. This Indian vnderſtanding y Cortes had ſpoken euil of them, made as though he went to fulfil his commaundement: but hee went to proclaime libertie, publiſhing the heinouſ & iniurious wordes which he had heard, ſo that in ſhort ſpace the matter began to waue hotte, for ſome went and brake downe the bridges, others went to call all the Citizens, who ioyned themſelues together, and beſieged the Spaniards houſe, with ſuch ſtraunge noyſe that one could not heare another: the ſtones flew like haile, darts and arrowes filled the Spaniards yarde, which troubled them much. Cortes ſeing this vzoyle, he with certaine of his men went out at one doore, and an other Captain at another, with eache of them two hundred men. They fought with the Indians, who flew foure Spaniards, and wounded many moe, and of them were ſlaine very fewe, with their ſuccoure and defence at hande. If our men fought with them in the ſtreets, then would they ſtoppe their paſſage at the bridges: if they aſſaulted their houſes, then they were beaten with ſtones from the toppe of their houſes which were flat ruſſed, and at their retire they perſecuted them terribly.

They ſet fire vpon the Spaniards houſe in ſundry places, but chiefly in one place they coulde not aplane the fire a great while, vntill they threwe downe certaine chambers and walles, whereas they had entered at pleaſure, had it not bene for the Artillerie, Croſſebowes, and handgunnes, which were there in defence of that place.

This

This combat endured all that day untill night, yea and in the night also they had their hands full: our men had little leisure to sleepe, but rather spent the night in mending the walles & bowes, and curing the wounded men who were moze then foure scoze, and likewise to set their men in order and readinesse for the fight of the next day following.

It was no sooner day, but the Indians began their assault a fresh, with moze courage and furie then the day before, so that our men were faine to trust to their artillery, the which the Indians feared not a whit: for if a shot carried ten, fiftene or twentie Indians at a clappe, they would close againe as though one man had not bene missing. Cortes came out with other two hundred men, and gave some prizes, burned some houses, and slew many that defended them. But the Indians were so many in number, that no hurt appeared, yea and our men were so fewe in comparison of them, that although they fought all the day, yet had they much ado to defend themselves, how much moze to offend. That day neuer a Spaniard was slaine outright, but three scoze of them were wounded and hurt, whereby they had inough to do to cure them for that night, and to procure remedie and defence against the hurts which they received from the house toppes. They invented Engines A strange invention. of timber made upon wheeles, and foure square, covered on the toppe, and with an Art to passe through the streets: there were placed on eache of them, twentie men with Pikes, Hargabush, Crossebowes, and one double Bale. Behinde the Engines went men with shovels and spade forks, to throw downe houses, bulwarkes, and to rule and governe the Engines.

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The death of Mutezuma.

All the while that the Engins were a making, our men came not out to fight, being occupied in the worke, but onely to defend their lodging. The enemies thinking that they were all sore hurt and wounded, began their warres againe, reuiling them with many iniurious wordes, threatening them, that if they would not deliuer Mutezuma, that they would giue them the most cruellest death that euer man suffered, and came with great force to haue entered the house.

Cortes desired Mutezuma to goe vp into the Zotie, which is the toppe of the flatte rouse of the house, and to command his subjects to cease from their heate and fury. At Cortes his request hee went vp, and leaned ouer the wall to talke with them, who beginning to speake to them, they threw so many stones out of the strate, houses and windowes, that one happened to hit Mutezuma on the temples of his head, with which blow he fell adowne to the ground: this was his ende, euen at the hands of his owne subjects and vassals against their willes: for the truth is, that a Spaniard helde a Target ouer his head, whereby they knew him not, nor yet would beloue that hee was there, so; all the signes and tokens which were made vnto them. Cortes forthwith published the hurt and danger of life of Mutezuma: some gaue credite to his tale, and others would not, but rather sought very doubtfull dayes Mutezuma remained in extreme paine, and at the ende departed his life.

And because it should appeare that his death was of the stripe that they had giuen, and not by any hurt received at their hands, they captiued two Gentlemen of Mexico, who were prisoners, to carry him out vpon their backs, who

who certified the Citizens of the certaintie of his death, that at that present time were giuing battery to the house. But yet so; all this they would not leane off the combat, nor yet the warkes, as some of our men thought they would, but rather proceeded on their purpose, with greater courage and desire of reuenge. And when they re-
sized, they made a pitifull lamentation, with preparation to bury their king in Chapultepec. On this sort died Mutezuma, who was holden so; a God among the Indians. Some say that he desired to be Baptised at the Shore-side before his death, and they prolonged the matter, thinking at Easter following to haue Chrised him with honour and triumph. But as it happened, it had bene better to haue done it at that time according to his request. But with the coming of Pamilo de Naruaes the thing was also delayed, and after he was wounded it was likewise forgotten, with the troubles that they were in. It was credible eno;med, that Mutezuma was neuer consenting to the death of any Spaniarde, nor yet in cons-
piracie against Cortes, but rather loued him entirely: yet some are of another opinion; and both giue good reasons to approue their arguments, but the truth could not well be knowen, so; at that time our men vnderstode not the language, and againe, Mutezuma after his death, leste none to open that secrete.

The Indians affirme that he was of the greatest blood of all his linage, and the greatest king in estate, that euer was in Mexico. It is also to be noted, that when the kingdoms do most flourish, then are they niest to a change, or else to change their Lord, as doth appeare in this history of Mutezuma. Our men lost more by the death of Mutezuma then the natural Indians, if we consider the murder and destruction that incontinent did follow. Mutezuma was a man very moderate in his diet, and not so vicious

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as other Indians, although he had many wiues. He was also liberall and free harted : hec was esteemed for a verie wise man, in my iudgement he was either wise in letting things passe after that sort, or else a very foole, that did not vnderstand their doings : he was as deuout as warlike, for he had bene present in many battailes : and also other nine times victorie man for man in the field, he reigned seuentie yeares and certaine moneths.

The combat betweene the Spaniards and the Indians.



After the death of Mutezuma, Cortes sent vnto his Penewes, and to the other Noble men who maintained the warres, desiring them to come & speak with him, and they came, vnto whom Cortez spake from a wall where Mutezuma was slaine, saying, that it were mete that they should cease from war, and to chosse another king, and also to bury the dead, and that he would come to his buriall as his friend : likewise he signified vnto them, that for the loue he bare vnto Mutezuma who had intreated for them, hee had stealed from the finall spoyle of the Cittie, and correction of them for their rebellion and obstinacie. But now that he had not vnto whom to haue respect, hee would both burne their houses, and chassen them, if that they submitted not themselves to his friendship.

They answered, that they would neither leaue the wars, nor yet reuenge his friendship, until they saw themselves in their libertie, and their wrongs wholly reuenged, yea and that without his counsell they could elect the king vnto whom of right the kingdome did appertain.

And

And sithens the Gods hath taken our welbeloned Motezuma, we will giue his body a Sepulchre, as unto such a King doth appertaine: yea and if he would goe and beare his friend Motezuma company to the Gods, that then he should come forth, and they would quickly dispatch him: and as for the residue, they would haue rather war then peace, yea and that they were not menne that did yeelde with woordes. Also seeing their King was dead, for whose respecte they ceased to burne their houses, roste their bodies, and eate their flesh, but nowe (quoth they) if ye depart not, we will not dally long time with you.

Cortes finding them stout and stubborne, liked not the bargain. Again he knewe well that their meaning was, that if they hadde departed from the Citie, to haue spoyled and murdered them by the way. And seeing that their liues, rule and government consisted in strength of hand and good courage, he came forth in a morning with the thre engines, foure peeces of Ordnance, and five hundred Spaniards, and thre thousand Tlaxcaltecas to fight with the enemies, and to burne and spoyle their houses. They brought the engines nere vnto certaine greates houses which stood nere vnto a bridge, casting the scaling ladders on the walles, and so got vp to the toppe where many people were, and there combatted a while, but shortly turned to their sorte againe, without doing any greates hurte, with one Spaniard slaine, and many wounded, and also the engines broken and spoyled, yea the multitude of Indians were so thicke, and stowe vpon the Ordnance in such sorte, that they had no leysure to discharge them. The stones came also so thicke from the house toppes, that the meynes were some at an end. And the Citizens hauing housed them againe in the sorte and loosing, began to amende the hurt done in their houses, and to recouer the streetes that were lost: also the greates

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Tenochtitlan, in the Tower of the Sun, the Spaniards by principal men hadde fortified themselves with vittailles, stones, and long Launces, piked with iron and flint stone verie sharpe, but truly they did much hurt with stones. This Tower was high and strong, as I haue before declared, and those were the Spaniards feet, which from that Tower receiued much hurt. Although Cortes was somewhat sadde and heauie, yet he ceased not like a good Captaine to comfort and encourage his men, and all wayes was the first in all this point of assay, and his heart coulde not permit him to remaine pained by in that sort, wherefore he took three hundred Spaniards, and went to assiege the high tower. Thre or foure dayes he ceased not that enterpryse, but coulde not come to the toppe, being so high a thing, and many persons in desire of the same, well provided with fit munition for the purpose, so that all men came daily tumbling downe the staires, flying to their house with broken pates, so that our Spaniards dismayed more and more, and many murmured at the matter: you may well indge howe Cortes his heart was affrighted, for the Indians increased still in courage, having the better hand, and daily victorie from the high Tower. But now Cortes determined to leaue his house, and not to returne thereunto againe, untill he had wonne the Tower. He bound his Target to his arme which had bene hurt before, and beleaged the Tower againe with many of his men, Tlaxcaltecas and other friends, and many times although they were beaten downe, rose againe succouring one another, till at length they got to the toppe, and there fought with the Indians, till some of them lept out of the Tower, and stood hanging upon the liks of the wall, which were three in number: the one higher then the other, and a fowle boate. Some fell downe to the ground, who besides their falls, were

A valiant
man.

were receiued vpon the swordes point, and in this sort they left none aliue. Three houres they fought on the top of the Colner, because of multitude of Indians was great. In conclusion, the whole five hundred men that dyed very valiantly, and if their weapon and knowledge had been equal, the victory had been doubtful. Cortez set fire on all the Chappels, and other three Chappels, where innumerable Idols were, yet those silly Indians losing points of courage with the losse of their Temple and Gods, which touched them at the heart, but rather began with more furie to assault the Spanish house.

Pow the Mexicans refused the offer of peace made by Cortez.

Cortez considering the great multitude of Indians his enemies, and also the great courage, with desire of reuengement; and knowing also how his men were weak and wearied with fight, yet (I may say) with great desire to goe from thence, if that the Citizens would haue suffered them, he began againe to require them with peace, and to desire them of truce, saying unto them also, that they should consider how that many of their friends were slaine, and yet they could kill none of them. They being more hard harted then before, answered that they utterly refused his offer saying that they would neuer haue peace with those who had slaine their men, and burned their Goddes houses (as they say) and although some of vs are killed, yet we also doe both kill and hurt, for vs are mortal men and not infinite, as we are: behold also the number of vs, and Zorcs, in windows and streets assure your selues there are three times as many within the houses so we shall sooner make an end of you killing one and one, then you shall doe of vs by killing

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killing a thousand by thousand, or ten thousand by ten thousand: so ending all these whom ye see, there will come so many more, and after them so many more: but if ye were once killed, there would come no more Spaniards; yea, and when our weapons cannot thoroughly destroy you, that then we will sterue you to death with hunger and famine, yea, and though now you would depart, it is too late, because the bridge is throtene downe, and the cables broken, and succour by water you haue none. In these communications the day was spent, and night at hande, their heads occupied and hearts full beaue, so hunger alone had bene enough to finish their dayes, without any further warre. That night, the one halfe of the number of Spaniards armed themselves, and late in the euening came forth into the Citie. The Indians not being not accustomed to fight at such hours, the Spaniards burned aboue three hundred houses in one streete, and in some of them found many Citizens, of whom they left not one alieue. They burned and spoiled three Zories nere vnto their owne lodging, which hadde greatly annoyed them before. The residue of the Spaniards which abode at home, amended the engins, and repaired their houses. As this iourney happened well vnto them, early in the morning they proceeded out againe, and went to the bridge where there engins had bene broken, and although they found there great resistance, yet the matter imposed their liues. They fought with noble courage, and got many Towers, houses and Zories. They won also foure of the eight bridges which were in the Citie, leaving gard in those places which were wantie, returning to their campe with many wounds, being both wearie, and full of care and sorrow.

The next day they came forth againe, and wanted the other foure bridges, and dammed them vp with earth, in
such

such sort, that the Horsemen that way followed the enemies to the firme lande. Cortes being occupied in damming up the ditches, and making plaine way of the bridges, there came certaine messengers vnto him, saying, that neare at hand, abode many noble men and Captaines to treat of peace, requiring him to come vnto them, praying him to bring Tlamacazque his prisoner, who was one of the principallest of the Diuels. Cleargie there, to heare the treatie of the matter.

Cortes went, and carried the Priest with him, whom he appointed to require them to cease from contention, and to remoue their siege, but hee came not backe with answer. All this was a sayned fetch, to see the state of the Christian Campe, or else to recover their religious Tlamacazque. Cortez seeing their deceit, went his way to dinner, and was no sooner set at his meate, but certaine Tlaxcaltecas came running in with an open crie, saying, that their enemies hadde recouered againe the bridges, and wente armed vp and downe the strates, and hadde also slaine the moste of the Spanyardes that were left in garde of the bridges. Incontinent Cortez went out with the Horsemen, who were readiest at that time, and made way through the troupe of enemies, following them euen vnto the firme lande, but at their returne, the footemen that were hurt and wearied in keeping of the strate, could not susteine the force and furie of the infinite number of Indians, which came vpon them, yea with much adoe they could escape home to their fort.

The multitude was not so great of Indians in the strate, but also by water in Canoas, so that stones flew on both sides, and galled our men cruelly. Cortes was hurt in one of his knees very sore, whereupon it was blotvne abroade through the Citie, that Cortes was slaine, which newes did greatly discourage our men, and much animate the

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Indians. But yet Cortes for all his paine and hurt, ceased not to embolden and encourage his souldiers, who set a fresh vpon the enemies. At the farthest bridge fell two Horses, which troubled much our men that followed. Cortes made such way among the Indians, that the Horsemen had reasonable passage, and being the hindmost man himselfe, he was in great perill of taking. It was a marvel to see what a spring he gaue with his Horse, and thereby escaped, but in conclusion, with stones they were forced to returne to their hold, being very late.

As soon as he had ended his supper, he sent some of his men to guard the streets and bridges, and to defende the same against the enemy. They were somewhat ioyfull of their proceedings and good successe which they hadde the same day.

Howe Cortez fledde from
Mexico.



At Cortes waiving the substance of the matter, saue in effect that his side went to worke, wherefore he requested his men to depart from thence, who were not a little ioyfull to heare their Captain pronounce that saying, for seife as none of them escaped but hurt & wounded. They feared death, but yet wanted not stomacke and heart to die. The Indians were so many, that if the Christians should but only haue cut their throats without resistance, yet they had bin too seife for that purpose.

They were also in such necessitie of bread, that pinched them sore. Their powder and shotte was spent, and almoste all other provision. Their house was welnigh beaten

the west India.

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beaten downe about their eares. All these causes were sufficient to leaue Mexico, and to seeke to saue their liues: yet on the other side, they iudged it an euill case, to turne their backs to their enemies, for (quoth they) the very stones riseth vp against him that flieth. They feared againe the passage of the arches where the bridges hadde bene, so that now they were full beset with sorrowe, care, and miserie: but in fine, they all agreed to depart that night, for many dayes before, one of their companie called Botello, who presumed to haue good skill in the Art of *Pygromancie*, did declare vnto them, that if they would depart from Mexico at a certaine houre appoynted, that then they should escape, or else not; but whether they gaue credite to his sayings or no, they fully determined to depart that night; and like vnto politicke and good shouldiers, they prepared a bridge of tumber to carrie with them, to passe ouer the arches where bridges had bene. This is most certaine, they were all ynnie and agreed to the departure; and not as some report, that Cortez fled away, leauing about two hundred *Spanyarges* in the house, who knewe nothing of his departure; and were afterwarde all slaine, sacrificed, and eaten in Mexico, for out of the Cittie hee could not haue departed secretly, but it should haue come to their eares: howe muche moze out of one house, where they were all together.

Cortez called Iohn de Guzman his Chamberlain, commaunding him to open the Hall where the treasure was, and called all the officers and others, to see the distribution of the same. First the Kings portion was deducted, and hee gaue a Horse of his owne, and men to carrie it; and for the remainder, he willed euery man to take what he liked, for he gaue it frankly vnto them. The souldiers which had come with Naruaz, & now serued Cortez, were

Reward of a
conquers
minde.

some what hungry of treasure, so that they took as much golde and other riches, as they might possibly carry, but it cost them deare, for at their going out of the Citty, with the waight of their heauie burthens, they could neither fight, nor yet make haste on their way, vpon which occasion, the Indians caught many of them, and drew them by the heeles to the slaughter-house of Sacrifice, where they were slaine and eaten: yet those that escaped, had each of them some profite, for that preise was well worth seven hundred thousand Duckets: but being things wrought in great peeces, they were troublesome to carrie, so that he which carried least, escaped best. Yet some doe thinke, that there remained in that house a great part of the treasure, but it was not so, for after our men had taken what they would, then came in the Tlaxcaltecas, and made spoyle of all the rest.

Cortes gave charge to certaine of his men, to guard with much respect, a sonne and two daughters of Mutezuma, Cacama, and his brother, and many other great Gentlemen his prisoners.

He also appointed other sortie men to carry the bridge of timber, and other Indians to carry the Ordnance, and a little graine of Ceneli that remained.

The vanguard hee committed to Gonzalo de Sandoval, and Antonio de Quiniones: and the rereguarde hee committed to Pedro de Aluaredo, and he himselfe remained with a hundred men, to vse his discretion. In this order, and with good deliberation, at midnight he departed from Mexico in a darke myst, and so quietly, that none of the Indians knew thereof, commending themselves vnto God, beseeching him in their prayers, to deliuer them from that present danger, and then hee took the way of Tlacopan, being the same way that he came into the Citty.

The

The first arche wherof the bzidge was thzowne down, they passed with the timber bzidge to which they caried with them at ease.

In this meane time the watche and espies which warred in the hiest temples, had descried their flight, and began to sounde their instruments of warre with a maruelous crie, saying, they flie, they flie : And sodenly with this noyse, they hauing no armour to put on, noz other impedimēt, ioyned an infinit company of them together, and followed with great celeritie, yea and with suche a beaue and terrible noise, that all the lake pronounced the Eccho, saying, let the cursed and wicked be slaine, who hath done vnto vs such great hurte.

But when Cortes came to plante his bzidge vpon the second arche of the Citie, there mette him a greate company of Indians to defende the same, yet with much adoe he planted his bzidge and passed ther vpon with fise hoysmen and a hundred Spaniardes, and with them proceeded through the Calsep to the maine lande, passing many perillous places, where in swamme both man and hoise, for the bzidge of timber was bzoken : this done, he leste his fote menne on the firme lande, vnder the gouernment of Iohn Xemarillo, and returned back with the fise hoysmen for to succour and helpe the residue of his company which were behinde. But when he came vnto them, he found some fighting with great courage, but many slain. He lost also his golde and sardage, his ordnance and prisoners, yea in fise he found, a maruelous change and alteration of the estate he leste them in, where vpon like a god Captaine he shewed his wisdome and valour, helping and recovering as many of his men, as he might, and bzought them into safetie. He leste also Captaine Aluarado to succour the rest.

But Aluarado with all his power and strength could

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not resist the furie of the enemies, wherefoze with the Launce in his hande hee beganne to flie, seeing the great slaughter of his companie, so that hee was forced to passe ouer the dead carcases, yea, and vpon some that were not thoroughly dead, who made a lamentable, pitifull, and dolefull mone. And comming to the next arche, whose bzidge was broken downe, of necessitie he toke his lance, and therewith leaped such a space, that the Indians were amazed to see, for none of his fellows could doe the like, although they appoyned the enterprise, and were browened for their labour.

When Cortes saue this sorrowfull sight, he sate him downe, not to take any rest for his wearinesse, but only to bewaile the dead men, yea, and also them that were alieue and in great danger, and also to ponder the vnstedfastnesse of the cruell fortune in the perdition of so manie his friends, such great treasure and losshippe, so great a Citie and Kingdome, but also to bewaile the sorrowfull estate that hee himselfe stode in, seeing the most of his men wounded and hurt, and knowing not whither to go, for that he was not certaine of the helpe and friendshippe of Tlaxcallan. Yea and what hard heart, would not haue relented to behold the dead bodies, who a little before had entret that same way, with such magnificall triumph, pompe and pleasure. But yet hauing care of those whom he had left on the firme lande, he made hast to Tlacopan.

This sorrowfull night, which was the tenth of July, in An. 1520. were slaine about 450. Spaniards, 4000. Indian friends, and 46. horse, yea and (as I iudge) all the prisoners which were in his companie. If this mishap had soztuned in the day time, possible so many and so great a number had not perished. But where it soztuned by night, the noise of the wounded was sorrowfull, & of the victors horrible and feareful. The Indians cried victorie, calling vpon their

their diuelish and filthy Gods with ioy and pleasure: our men being overcome, cursed their vnfortunate lot, yea the holwer, and he that brought them thither, others cried vnto God for succour, others said helpe, helpe, for I stande in daunger of drowning. I know not certainly whether mo perished in the water or the lande, hoping to saue themselves by swimming and leaping ouer the flues and broken places, so; they say that a Spaniarde was no soner in the water, but an Indian was vpon his barke. They haue great dexteritie and skill in swimming, so that catching any Spaniard in the water, they would take him by the one arm, and carry him whither they pleased, yea and would brpanch him in the water. If these Indians had not occupied themselves in taking the spoyle of those that were fallen and slaine, certainly one Christian had not escaped that day. But in fine the greatest number of Spaniards that were killed, were those that went most laden with gold plate and other ietwels, and those which escaped were they that caried least burdens, and the first that with noble courage made way to passe through the troupe of Indians.

Howe wee may safely say, that the conelous desire of gold, wherof they had plenty, was cause of their death, and they may aunswere that they died rich. After that those which had escaped, were past the calley, the Indians staied and followed them no further, either so; that they contented themselves with that which they had done, or else they durst not fight in open field: But principally it is thought, that they abode to mourne and lament for the death of Mutezuma his childzen, not knowing till then their sorrowfull ende. But now seeing the thing present before their eyes, they wrang their hands, and made a pitiful dole and cry, and the rather because they themselves had slaine them against their wils.

The

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The battell of Orumpan, a notable victorie.



The inhabitants of Tlacopan, knew not how our men came spoiled, hurt, and overthelwen, and againe our men stood in a maze, & knew not what to doe, nor whither to go. Cortes came vnto them and comforted them, and placed them in order before him, requiring them to make hast, vntill they might come into the broad field, before such time as the men of Tlacopan should hear of the newes passed, & so to arm themselves and ioine with fortie thousand Mexicans, who after the mourning for their friends, came marching after them. He placed in the vanguard the Indians his friends, & passed through certaine tilled ground, and continually fought as they went, vntill they came to a high hill, where was a tower, and a temple, which is called our Ladie church at this day. The Indians slew some of the Spaniards which came in the reregard, and many of their Indian friends, before they could get vp to the top of the hill. They lost much of the gold that had remained, and with great hazard escaped through the multitude of Indians with life: their horses which remained alive, were foure and twentie, who were tired both with travell and hunger, and the Spaniards their maisters, with the residue could scarcely stirre hand or foote with wearinesse of fighting, and penurie of hunger, for all that day and night they ceased not from fight, eating nothing at all.

A wearie
journey.

In this Temple were reasonable lodgings, where they fortified themselves as well as they might, and thanke one to another, but their supper was very slender. After their simple feast was ended, they went and beheld an

an infinite number of Indians, which had beset them almost round about, making a marvellous shout and cry, knowing that they were without victuals, whiche onely is a warre woyle then to fight with the enemye. They made many fires with the woodde of sacrifice, rounde about the towre and temple, and with this policie, at midnight departed secretly. It happened that they had Tlaxcalteca to be their guide, who knew wel the way, assuring A painful man. to bring them into the iurisdiction of Tlaxcallan: with this guide they began to iourney. Cortez placed his wounded men and sarrage in the middelt of his company, the soldiers that were whole and in health, he deuised into the vanguard & reargard: he could not passe so secretly, but that they were espied by the Indian fronte, whiche was nere at hand, who gaue aduise therof incontinent. Foure companies which went before to discover, fell among certaine companies of Indians, which attended their coming to robbe the, and seeing the horsemen, they suspected y^e the whole army was at hand, wherupon they fled, but yet seeing them few in number, stood & ioyned with the other Mexicans, that followed & pursued our men three leagues, until they came to a hill where was another temple with a good towre and lodging, where they lodged that night without supper. They departed in the morning from thence, and wente through a cragged & naughtie way, to a great towne the inhabitants whereof were fledde for feare, so that they abode there two daies to rest theselues, to cure their men, and horses: also they somewhat eased their hūgery stomaks and carried from thence provision, although not much, for they had none to carrie it. And being departed fro thence, many enemies pursued the & persecuted them very sore. Likewise y^e guide erred out of his way, & at length came to a little village of few houses, where they reposed y^e night. In the morning they proceeded vpon their way, and the

Do

enemies

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enemies still pursuing and troubled them soze all the day.

Cortes wounded with a
sling.

Cortes was wounded with the stripe of a sling, and therewith was in greate danger of life, for his head so rankled, that of necessitie they were forced to take out certaine peeces of his skull, wherupon he was driuen to seke a solitarie place in the wildernesse to cure him, and in going thitherwardes, the enimies wounded five Spaniards and foure horses, whereof one died, and that was eaten among them for a sumptuous supper, and yet not sufficient for them all, for there was none of them which were not vexed with hunger. I speake not of their wounds and wearinesse, things sufficient to haue made an ende of life. But certainly the Spanishe nation can abide moze hunger then any other, and especially these with Cortes did shewe the proofe. The nexte day in the morning departing from a little Village, and fearing the multitude of enimies, Cortes commaunded each horseman to take a sicke manne behinde him, and those that were somewhat stronger, to holde by the horse-tailes and stirrappers: he likewise made churches for other some to ease them, and would not leaue one of his men behinde him to be a pray and supper for the Indian enimies. This aduise was very profitable as things fel out, yea also there were some of them that caried vpon their backe their fellows, and thereby were saued. They had not tournied a full league into a plaine felde, when there mette them an infinite number of Indians who compassed the round about, and assaulted our men in such sozte, that they verily beleued that day to ende generally their liues, for there were many Indians that durst wassell with our men, man to man, yea and layd some of them in the duste, and dyde we them by the heeles, whether it were with the great courage which they had, or whether it were with the frauail, hunger and hurtles of our men I know not, but greate pittie

Oh noble
Cortes.

tie it was to see, how they were beaten by the Indian enemies, and what grievous mone they made.

Cortes that wente with vigilant care comfortoyng his men, as muche as was possible to doe, and well perusing the great daunger that they were in, commending himselfe to God, sette spurres to his horse and made way thorough the greatest troupe of Indians, and came vnto the cap-
Oh valiane Cortez.
 taine generall who bare the Royall Standart of Mexico, and passed him through with his Lance, wherof he inconsistent died. But when the Indians sawe the Standart fallen, they threwe their aunciente on the grounde and fled, scattering them here and there like men amazed, knowing not whitther to fly, for such is their custome in warre, that when they see the generall slaine, they forthwith leaue the field. When our weary soules began to recover hart and strength, and the horsemen followed the to their great annoyance and slaughter. It was credibly reported, that there were that day in field, 200000. Indians. And the
200000. Indians.
 fielde where this battaile was fought is called Otumpan: there was neuer a moze notable facte done in India, noz greater victozy since the first discovery of the same. And as manye Spaniardes as sawe Hernando Cortes fighte that day, did holde opinion, that neuer one man did moze greater feates in armes, and that he only was the meane in his owne person to saue and deliuer them all.

The entertainment which the Spaniardes
 had in Tlaxcallan.



After this victozy obtained, Cortes with his company went to lodge in a house planted alone, in a plaine ground, from whence appeared the Mountaines of Tlaxcallan, wherof our menne muche reioyced: yet
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on the other side they stood in doubt whether they should finde them their friends in such a dangerous season, for because the vnsfortunate man that lieth, findeth nothing in his fauour, for all thing that he pretendeth, happeneth cleane contrary. That night Cortes himselfe was scoute, not because he was moze whole then his fellows, but like a good Captaine, he deuided the trauaile and paines equally, euen as their hurte and damage was come.

Being day, they iournied in plaine and straight way, directly to the Mountaines and Prouince of Tlaxcallan, they passed by a sweet fountain of water, where they well refreshed themselves, and after they came to Huazilipan, a towne of Tlaxcallan, of 4000. households, wher they were lovingly receiued, & abundantly provided for thre dayes, which they abode there refreshing and curing their weary bodies. Some of the townes men would giue the nothing without payment, but the moste parte did vse them very gently: Vnto this Towne came Maxixca, Xicotencalt, Axotecalt, and many other principal persons of Tlaxcallan, and Huexozinco with 50000. men of war, who were going to Mexico to succour the Spaniards, knowing of their troubles, but not of their hurt and spoile, yet some holde opinion that they hauing certaine knowledge of all their mishappes and flight from Mexico, came only to comforte them, and in the name of all their communal tie and state, to offer them their Towne, in conclusion, they seemed so ioyfull for their vnsfortunes, and againe ioyfull to see them there: Pea some of them with anguish of harte wepte, and sayde, we did abuse and waerne ye, that the Mexicans were Traytours and wicked persons, and yet ye would not beleue vs: we do pittie and bewaile your troubles, but if it please you, lette vs goe thither to reuenge your iniuries, and the death of your Chyilians, and our Citizens: and if now ye
will

50000. men.

Fairfull
friends.

will not, that then it may please you to goe with vs home to our houses, for to recreate your persons, and to cure your wounds.

Cortes did cordially reioyce, to heare and finde such succour and friendship, in such good men of warre, whereof he stood in doubt as he came thitherward. He gaue them most heartie thanks for their louing offer, curtesie, and good will. He gaue vnto them of such Jewels as remayned, and said vnto them, the time will come, that I shall desire your helpe against the Mexicans, but now presently it is needfull to cure my sicke and wounded men.

The noble men that were there present, besought him to giue them leaue to skirmish with the Indians of Culhua, for as yet many of them wandered thereabout. Cortes graunted their request, and sent with them some of his men, which were lustie, and in good health, who proceeded forth all together, and in that iourney slue many Indian enemies, so that after this time, the enemies appeared no more. Then with triumph, pleasure, and victorie, they departed toward the Citie, and our men followed. It is credibly reported, that twentie thousande men and women met them by the way with sundry kinds of meates: I doe beleue that the most of them came to see them, for the great loue which they bare vnto them, and likewise to enquire of their friendes which had gone with them to Mexico, of who few returned. In Tlaxcallon they were honourably receiued, and well vsed. Maxixca gaue his house to Cortes, and the rest of his companie were housed at Gentlemens houses, who cherished them exceedingly, whereby they forgot the paynes, sorrowes, and trauels past, for in fiftene dayes before, they lay on the bare ground.

Certainly the Spaniards were much indebted to the Tlaxcaltecas, for their loialtie and faithfull friendship,

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especially vnto that good and vertuous Gentleman Max-
ixca, who threwe Xicotental downe the staires and
steps of the chiefe Temple, for giuing his counsell to kill
the Spaniards, meaning to reconcile himselfe to the
Mexicans.

He also made two Orations, the one to the men, and
the other to the women, in the great fauour and praise
of the Spaniards, putting them in remembrance, howe
that they had not eaten salt, nor woyme cloth of cotten wool
in many yeares befoze, vntil now that their friends were
come: and to this day these Indians doe much presume of
their fidelitie, and like wise of the resistance and battell
they made with Cortes in Teocazincos, so that now when
they celebrate any great feast, or receiue any Christian
visiting, there cometh of them out into the field fiftie
or seuentie thousand men, to skirmish and fight in the
same order as they did with Cortez.

The protestation and request of the Soul- diers to Cortez.



When Cortes departed first from Tlax-
callon toward Mexico to visit Mute-
zuma, he left there twentie thousand
Castles of gold and more, besides the
kings portion which was sent with
Monteio and Portocarrere. He left
there also many other things if neede
should haue hapned in Mexico of mo-
ney, or other things to prouide his men in Vera Cruz, and
this he left there also, to proue the fidelity of his friends in
Tlaxcallon. And after he had obtayned the victorie against
Nauaacs, he wrote vnto the Captaine that he should send
for the same, for reason required that in all things they
should haue their parts.

The

The Captaine of Vera Crux sent fiftie Spaniards and fine Hoysmen for the same, who at their return, were slain and taken prisoners with all that treasure, by the men of Culhua, who had rebelled through the coming of Pamfilo de Naruacz, robbing & spoiling sundry dayes. But whē Cortes vnderstood this newes, his ioy was turned to sorrow, not onely for the gold and treasure so much, as for the losse of his men, fearing also some other warre or bypote to haue bene in the rich towne of Vera Crux, whereupon he sent a messenger thither, who returned in short time certifying that all the inhabitauntes there were in good health, and also all the Comarcans quiet, and without any token of alteration. This newes and answer pleased Cortes and all his company, which desired to go thither, but he would not permit them, wherefore they beganne to murmure and to exclaime, saying: what thinketh Cortes, what meaneth he to do with vs? why will he keep vs here to die an euill death? what haue wee offended him, that he will not let vs goe? we are already full of wearinesse, our bodies are yet full of fresh woundes, we haue spent our blood, and are now without strength and apparel: we see our selues in a straunge Countrey, and full of misery, environed with enemies, yea and without hope to come to that high place from whence we fell, yea then mighte we be accounted for worse then madde men, to come into the perilles from whence wee escaped: wee meane not now to ende our liues so desperately, as he woulde haue vs, for with the insatiable thirste of honoure and glozie, hee esteemeth not his life, neyther ours. He doth not likewise consider, that he wanteth men, hoyses, artillerie, and armour, things so necessarie for the warres, yea, hee also wanteth victuall, which is a thing moste principall of all: what shall wee say, but that he erreth, and is deceived, in giuing credite to these

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these Tlaxcaltecas, who are like unto the other nations of India, which are light, changeable, and louers of new things, yea and rather, in effect of troth, they better love the Culhuacans, then the Spanishe Nation, yea & although they now dissemble, yet when they shall see a great army of *Mexicans* come vpon them, they will then deliuer vs aline, to be eaten, and sacrificed, so; it is an olde rule, that friendship doth not long endure betwixt them that are of sundry religion, apparell, and speech.

After all these complaints and murmurations among themselves, they made a protestation and request, in form as it were in the name of the King and all the companie, praying him incontinent to depart from thence, and to go with them to the Towne of *Vera Cruz*, before the enemies might disturbe their way and passage, and then they to remaine both bought and solde, and shut vp as it were in a prison: also they declared, that in *Vera Cruz* they shoulde haue better opportunitie to make themselves strong, if that he meant to returne againe vpon *Mexico*, or else to take shipping, if so it should seeme conuenient.

Cortes hearing this request, and determination of his souldiers, was at his wittes ende, imagining that their pretence was, onely to procure him to goe from thence, and afterwarde to rule him at their pleasures, and bring a thing cleane contrary to his pretended purpose, he answered them as followeth.

The

The Oration made by Cortez, in answere
to his Souldiers demaund.



Masters, I would do and fulfil your request, if it were a thing méte and conuenient for you, for there is not one alone of you, howe much moze all in generall, for whome I should not willingly aduenture my goods and life, if he should need the same: for why? your déeds haue bin such, that I stand bound neuer to forget them, or else to shew my selfe an ingratefull man. And thinke you not good friends, although I do not fulfill the thing whiche you so earnestly desire, that therfore I esteem not your authoritie: but in not granting to the same, I do craie and esteem you in greater reputation: for why? in our departing now from hence, our honoꝝ is blotted and stained for euermoze, and in abiding here, we shall like valiant men preserve the same. What nation is there, that had rule, dominion, and Empire in this world, that hath not bin overcome at some time? What famous Captain returned home to his house, for the losse of one battaile? none truly, for he that doth not perseuer, shall neuer triumph with Lady victoꝝ: he that retireth, sheweth that he flieth, and remaineth a mocking stocke for all men: but he that sheweth nobly his face, doth vter the courage of his heart, yea & is both feared, and also beloued.

If we now should depart from hence, these our friends would accept and iudge vs for cowardes, and refuse perpetually our friendship. Likewise our enemies would iudge the same, and neuer hereafter stand in feare of vs, which should bee a great shame vnto our estimation. Is there any among vs, that would not hold himselfe affren-

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ted, if it shoulde be saide, that he turned his backe and fled, how much moze would it be a dishonoz for vs all to haue the same respozt?

I doe muche maruell at the greatenesse of your inuincible heartes in battell : you were wont to be desirous of warres , and nowe that suche iust and laudable warre doth offer it selfe , you doe feare and refuse the same: sure it is a thing cleane contrary to our nature. What is hee that will pzeate of harnes, and neuer weare none? It was neuer yet sene in all this India and new woꝛld, that any of our nation retired with feare. And woulde you nowe that it should be saib, that Cortes and his company fledde, being in securitie, and without perill oz daunger? I beseech God not to permitte any suche thing. The warres doe muche consist in fame : why then? what better thing would you desire, than to be here in Tlaxcallan in dispite of all youre enemies , yea pzoclaiming open warres against them, and they not dare to annoy vs? Wherefoze you may well consider, that here you are moze sure then if you were from hence, so that here in Tlaxcallan you are honozed with securitie and strength, and besides this, you haue al things necessarte for physick and medicine, to cure youre woundes and obtaine youre health : yea, and I am bolde to saye , that if you were in youre owne naturall Country, you should not haue the like, noz yet be so much made off.

I do nowe meane to send for our men that are in Coazacoalco and Almeria , and so we shall haue a reasonable arme: yea and although they come not, we are sufficient, for we were fewer in number when first we entred into this Countrey , hauing no friends : and likewise you knowe well, it is not the number that doth fighte, but the couragious hearte and minde. I haue sene one of you discomfite a whole army, as Ionathas did , yea and many among

the west India.

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among you haue had victoꝝ against a thousand, yea ten thousand Indians, as King David had againste the Philistines. I loke dayly for Hoꝝes from the Ilandes, and other armour and artillerie we shall haue from Vera Crux. And as for vittailles, take you no care, for I will pꝛouide you abundantly, for they are thinges that alwaies followe the Conquerours: and as for these Citizēns of Tlaxcallan, I binde my selfe that you shal finde them trustie, loyall, and perpetuall friends, for so they haue pꝛomised me vpon their solemne othes, yea, and if they had meante otherwise, what better oppoꝝtunitie of time could they haue wished, then these latter dayes, where as we lay sicke in their owne beddes and houses, yea some of vs lame, wounded, and in manner rotten, and they like loꝝing friends haue not only holpen you, but also serued you with diligence of seruantes, for they woulde rather chōse to be your slaues, then subiectes to the Mexicans: theyꝝ hatred is suche to them, and their loue so greate to you. And because you shall see the troth, I wil now pꝛoue them and you, againste these of Tepeacac, who sate of late dayes twelue Spaniardes. And if this iourney happen euill, then will I follow your request, and if it please God that it happen well, then will I entreate and pray you to follow my counsell.

The Souldiers hearing this comfoꝝtable spēche, beganne to lay aside their desire to goe from thence to Vera Crux. They aunswered generally, that they woulde obey his commaundement, it shoulde seme with the pꝛomise made, touching the successe of the victoꝝ in Tepeacac, and lightly seldome it happeneth, that a Spaniard saith no, when he is required to goe on warfare, for it is holden for a dishonoz and shame.

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The warres of Tepeacac.

Cortes founde himseke at hearts ease with this answer, for it was a thing that had much troubled him : and vndoubtedly if he had followed his fellowes demaund, he should neuer haue recovered Mexico again, and they likewise had bene slain in the way towards Vera Crux, for they had many perillous places to passe. Each one of them waied whole of his wounds, saning some which died for want of looking to in time, leauing their woundes filthie & vnbound, as Surgions do affirme, with also their great trauel and weaknesse. And likewise other some remained lame & halt, which was no small grief and losse : but the most part recovered health, as I haue declared. After twentie dayes fully past, which they had abode in Tlaxcallan, Cortes determined to make war twith the Indians of Tepeacac, which is a great Towne, and not far from thence, for they had slaine twelue Spaniards, which came from Vera Crux, towards Mexico. Likewise they were of the league of Culhua, and therfore were holpen by the Mexicans, and did many times great hurt to the inhabitants of Tlaxcallan, as Xicotencatl did testifie. Cortes desired his louing friend Maxixca, and diuers other Gentlemen, to goe with him, who forthwith entred into counsell with the states & communalitie of the Citie, and there determined with generall consent to giue vnto him fortie thousand fighting men, besides many Tamemoz, who are soote carriers, to beare the baggage, victuall, and other things. With this number of Tlaxcaltecas, his own men and horses, he went to Tepeacac, requiring them in satisfaction of the death of the twelue Chyistians, that they should now yeld themselves to obedience of the Emperour, and that hereafter neuer moze to receiue any Mexica
into

the vvest India.

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into their towne or houses , neither yet any of the Province of Culhua.

The Tepeacacs answered, that they had slaine the Spaniards for good and iust cause, which was, that being time of warre they presumed to passe through their country by force, without their will and licence. And also that the Mexicans and Culhuacans were their friends and Lords, whome alwayes they would friendly entertaine within their towne and houses, refusing utterly their offer and request, protesting to giue no obedience to whom they knew not, wishing them therefore, to returne incontinent to Tlaxcallan, except they had desire to ende their wearie dayes.

Cortes inuited them diuerse times with peace, and seeing it preuailed not, he began his wars in earnest. Their enemies likewise with the fauour of the Culhuacans were braue and lusty, and began to stoppe and defend their pretended entrance. And they being many in number, with diuerse valiant men among them, began to skirmish sundry times, but at the end they were ouerthrowne, and many slaine, without killing any Spaniard, although manie Tlaxcaltecas were killed that day.

The Lords and principall persons of Tepeacac seeing their ouerthrow, and that their strength could not preuaile, yelded themselves vnto Cortes for vassals of the Emperour, with condition to banish for ever their allyed friends of Culhua. And that he should punish and correct at his will and pleasure, all those which were occasion of the death of the twelue Spaniards. For which causes and obstinacie, at the first Cortes iudged by his sentence, that all the Townes which had bene partie to the murder, should for ever remaine captiues & slaues: others as firme, that he overcame them without any condition, and corrected them for their disobedience, being Sodomites,

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idolaters and eaters of mans flesh, and chiefly for example of all others. And in conclusion, they were condemned for slaves, and within twentie dayes that these wars lasted, he pacified all p^rovince, which is verie great: he d^rave from thence the Culhuacans: he th^rew down the idols, and the chiefest persons obeyed him. And for moze assuraunce he built there a towne, naming it Segura de la Frontera: he appointed all officers for the purpose, being a towne situated in the high way frō Vera Crux to Mexico, wher by the Christians and straungers might passe without daunger. In these warres served like faithfull friendes the Indians of Tlaxcallan, Huexozinco and Chololla, p^romising the like service & succour against Mexico, yea, and rather better then woyle. With this victorie the Spaniards recovered great fame, for they were thought to haue bene slaine.

The great authoritie that Cortes had among the Indians.



After that these things were finished, Cortes commaunded and gaue licence to all the Indian friends, to returne home vnto their houses, except his assured friends of Tlaxcallan, whom he kept in his company for the wars of Mexico: he now dispatched a post to Vera Crux, commaunding that foure of the ships which Naruaes had brought, should be sent with al speed to the Island of Santo Domingo, for men, horses, armes, powder and other munition, also for wollen cloth, linnen, shewes, and many other things: and wrote his letters for the same to the licenciad Rodrigo de Figueroa, & to the whole magistrates of Chancery, certifying them of all their p^roc^edings in that country, beseeching them of helpe and succor,
and

and that forthwith to be sent by the messengers.

This done, he sent twentie horsemen, two hundred Spaniards, and many Indians vnto Zacatami, & Xalaxinco, which were towne subiect to the Mexicans, and placed in the high way to Vera Crux, who had slaine certaine Spaniards passing that way. This companie went thither, with their accustomed protestations, which prevailed not, whereupon followed fire and spoyle, many Gentlemen and other principall persons came to yelde themselves to Cortes, moze for feare than for good will, crauing pardon for their offence, promising also not to offend againe, nor yet at any time to take armour against the Spaniards. Cortes pardoned them, and then his armie returned, with determination to keepe his Christmasse in Tlaxcallan, which was within twelue dayes following. He left a Captaine with thre score Spaniards in the new towne of Segura, to keepe that passage, and also to put in feare the Comercans that dwelled thereabout: he sent befoze his whole armie, and hee himselfe went with twentie horsemen from thence to Coliman, to lodge there that night, being a Citie of his allied friends, and there to ordaine and make by his authoritie, both Noblemen and Captaines, in lue of them which died with the disease of small pockes. He abode there thre dayes, in the which the newe Lordes were ordained, who afterwards remained his especiall friends. The next day hee came to Tlaxcallan, being five leagues distant from thence, where he was triumphantly receiued. And truly at that time he made a iourney most woorthy of renowne and glorie.

At this season his deare friend Maxixca was departed this transitorie life, for whome he mourned clothed in blacke, after the Spanish fashion: he left behind him certaine sonnes, of whom the eldest was xij. yeares of age, whome

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whome Cortes named and appointed for Lord of his fathers estate, and the commons did certifie it to appertaine vnto him. This was no small glorie for Cortes to giue estates, and also to take them away at his pleasure, yea and that those Indians should haue him in such feare and respect, that none durst doe any thing in accepting the inheritance of their fathers without his good will and licence.

Now Cortes procured that euery man should make his harnesse, weapons and provision ready and in good order: he made also great haste in building Vergantines, for his timber was alreadie cutte and seasoned: he sent vnto Vera Cruz for sayles, tackle, nayles, ropes and other necessarie things, whereof there was store remaining of the furniture of the ships that were sunke. And hauing want of pitch, for in that countrey the Indians knew not what it ment, he commaunded certaine of his mariners to make the same in the high mountains where was store of pine trees, and not farre from the Citie.

The Vergantines that Cortes commaunded to be built, and the Spaniards which he had ioined together to besiege Mexico.



The same of prosperitie which Cortes enjoyed, was wonderfully blowne abroade with the newes of the imprisonment of Mutezuma, and the victorie against Pamfilo de Naruaz, whereupon there came many Spaniards by twentie and twentie in a companie from Cuba, Santo Domingo, and other Ilands. Although that iourney cost some their liues, for in the way they were murdered by those of Tepeacac and Xalacincó, as is before declared, yet notwithstanding there came

came many to Tlaxcallan, whereby his hoste was much encreased, beseeching him to make haste towarde the warres.

It was not possible for Cortes to haue espies in Mexico, for the Tlaxcaltecas were knowen by their lippes, eares, and other tokens, and also they had in Mexico garde and great enquirie for that purpose, by reason wherof he could not certainly knowe what passed in those parties, according as he desired, for to haue provided himself of things needefull: yet a Captaine whiche was taken prisoner in Huacacholla, certified y Cuetlauac Lord of Iztacpalapan, penewie to Mutezuma, was elected Emperour after his Uncles death, who was a wise and valiant man, and hee it was that had driue Cortes out of Mexico; who now had fortified Mexico with many bulwarkes and caues, and with many and sundry sortes of weapons, but chiefly very long Lances, yea and planted them in the ground to resiste and moleest the horsemen. He proclaimed pardon and free libertie, without paying any tribute for the space of one whole yere, yea and further as long as the warres should last, he promised also great rewarde to all them that should kill any Christian, or erpulse them from that Countrey. This was a policie whereby he gatte muche credit among his vassals, yea and gaue them greate courage to play the valiant men. All this newes was found to be true, sauing onely Cuetlauac was dead. And that Quahutimocein, newely also, as some do say, of Mutezuma, raygned at that time, who was a valiant man and a good warriour, as hereafter shalbe declared, who sente his messengers througout his Empire, proclaiming as greate rewarde as Cuetlauac had done befoze, declaring vnto them, that it was moze reason to serue him then straungers, and also to defende theyr olde aunient Religion, and not to credite suche Christians as would make them

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themselves Lords of other mens goods, yea, & make them slaves and captives as they had done in other places. Quahutimoc encouraged much his subjects, and kindled with his talke their wrath against the Spaniards: yet there were some provinces that gave no eare to his information, but rather leaned to our side, or else medled with neither side. Cortes seeing the effect of the matter, determined forthwith to begin the warres: he mustered his men on Saint Stevens day, and found fortie hoisemen, and five hundred and fortie footemen, whereof foure score were Pargabulhiers, and Crossebow men, nine peeces of Ordnance, and little ponde: his hoisemen bee divided into foure squares, and his footemen into nine: he named and appoynted Captaines, and other officers for the hoste, unto whom in generall he spake as followeth.

The exhortation of Cortez to
his Souldiers.

My loving brethren, I giue most hartie thanks unto Iesu Christ, to see you now whole of your woundes and free from diseases: likewise I much reioyce to see you in good order truly armed, yea and with such desire to set againe vpon Mexico, to renenge the death of our fellowes, and to winne that great Citty, the which I trust in God shall bee brought to passe in short time, hauing the friendship of Tlaxcallan and other provinces, who haue as great desire to see the ouerthrowe of the Mexicans, as we our selues, for therein they get both hono^r, libertie and safegard of life. Also it is to be considered, that if the victorie should not be ours, they poze soules should be destroyed and remaine in perpetuall captiuitie. Also the Culhuacans doe abhorre them worse then vs, for
recei

receiuing vs into their houses and countrey: therefore
 sure I am that they will sticke vnto vs vnfainedly. I
 muste needs confesse their vnfained friendship, for pre-
 sente woorkes doe testifie the same. They will not onely
 be a meane to bring others their neighbours to our ser-
 uice, but also haue now in readinesse 100000. men of war,
 to send with vs, besides a great nūber of Tamemes: or car-
 riers to carrie al our provision. These also, are now the same
 which alwaies heretofore ye haue bene, for I as witnesse
 being your captaine, haue had the victoꝝ of many battails
 fighting with a. 100. yea and 200000. enemies: we got also
 by strength of arm many strong cities, yea and brought in
 subiection many provinces, not being so many in number
 as we are now, for when we came firste into this coun-
 trey we were not so many as now presently we are. A-
 gaine in Mexico they feare our comming: it should also be
 a blot vnto our honour that Quahatimoc should inherit the
 kingdome that cost our frido Mutezuma his life. Likewise
 I esteeme al that we haue done is nothing, if we win not
 Mexico, our victoꝝies should be also be sorrowfull if we re-
 nenge not the death of our deere fellows. The chiefe and
 principal cause of our comming into this countrey, was to
 set forth the faith of Iesu Chꝛist, & therewithal doth follow
 honour and profit which seldome times do diuel together.
 In those fewe daies that we were in Mexico, we put
 downe the idols, we caused sacrifice and eating of mans
 flesh to be layde aside, and also in those daies we be-
 ganne to conuert some to the faith. It is not therefore
 nowe reason to leaue of so laudable an enterprise, so
 well begunne. Let vs nowe goe whither holy saith doth
 call vs, and where the sinnes of our enemies deserueth
 so great a punishment, and if ye well remember, the Ce-
 tizens of that citie were not content to murder such an in-
 finite number of men, women & childzen before the eyes,

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in their filthie sacrifice, for honour of their *Idolish* Goddes, but also to eate their fleshe, a thing inhumaine, and much abhorred of God, and al good men both procure, and especially Christians, to defende and punish such obnoxious customs.

Besides all this, they committe that horrible sinne for the which the five cities with Sodom were burned by fire from heauen: Why then what greater occasion, should any man wishe for in earth, then to abolish such wickednesse, and to plant among these bloudie tyrants the faith of Iesu Christ, publishing his holy gospel? Therfore now, with ioyfull hearts lette vs procede to seiue God, honour our nation, to enlarge our Princes dominions, and to enriche our selues with the goodly pray of Mexico, to mooue God willing we will beginne the same.

All his men answered with cherefull countenance, that they were readie to depart when it pleased him, promising their faithful seruice vnto him. It should seme the father with the desire of that pleasure and great treasure which they had right moneths enjoyed before.

Cortes commaunded to proclaime throughout his army, certaine ordinaunces of warre for the good gouernement of his host, which he had written among others: and were these that followeth:

That none should blasphemie the holy name of Iesu.

That no souldier should fight with his fellowe.

That none should play at any game, his horse nor armour.

That none should force any woman.

That none should robbe or take any Indian captiue without his speciall licence and counsaillers.

That none should wrong or iniurie any Indian their frends: he also shoulde vpon towke and apparell, for cause of the excessive prices that they were there sold for.

The

The exhortation made by Cortes to the Indians of Tlaxcallan,



The next day following, Cortes called before him all the Lordes, Captaines, and principall persons of Tlaxcallan, Huexocinco, Chololla, Chalco, and of other tolnes, who were there present at that time, saying as followeth. My lordes and friends, you know the journey which I haue in hand, to moztow

God willing I will depart to the war and siege of Mexico, and enter into the land of your enemies and mine: And the thing that now I doe require, and also pray, is, that you remaine faithful and constant in your promise made, as here vnto you haue done, and so I trust you will continue. And because I cannot bring to some my purpose to passe according to your desire and mine, without the Heragantines which are now a making, and to bee placed in the lake of Mexico, therefore I pray you to saunour these workmen which I leave here, with such loue and friendship, as heretofore ye haue done, and to giue them all things necessarie for their promise, and I doe faithfully promise to take away the yoke of bondage, which the inhabitants of Culhuacan haue laid vpon you, and also will obtaine of the Emperour great libertie and priuiledges for you.

All the Indians shewed countenance of obedience, and the chiefe Gentlemen answered in few words, saying, we will not onely fulfill your request, but also when your vessels are finished, we will bring them to Mexico, and we all in generall will goe with you, and truly serue you in your warres.

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How Cortes tooke Tezcuco.



Cortes departed from Tlaxcallan with his souldiers in good order, which was a goodly sight to beholde, for at that time he had eightie thousand men in his host, and the most of them armed after their manner, which made a galland shew: but Cortes saw diuerse causes would not haue them all with him, untill the Bergantines were finished, and Mexico besieged, fearing want of victualle for so great an army: yet notwithstanding he took twenty thousand of them, besides the carriers, & that night came to Tezcuolucā, which standeth fye leagues from Tlaxcallan, and is a village apperteyning to Huexocotlco, where he was by the principall of the town well receiued. The next day he iourneyed foure leagues, into the territoire of Mexico, and there was lodged on the side of an hill, where many had perished colde, had it not bene for the store of woodde which they found there. In the morning he ascended vpwāds on this hill, and sent his scout of foure souldiers, and foure horsemen to discouer, who found the way stopped with great trees newly cut downe, and placed crossewise in the way: but they thinking that yet forwarde it was not so, proceeded forth as well as they might, till at length the let with great hugie trees was such, & they could passe no further, and with this newes were forced to returne, certifying Cortes that the horsemen could not passe that way in any wise. Cortes demaunded of them, whether they had sene any people, they answered no, whereupon he proceeded forwarde with all the horsemen, and a thousand souldiers, commaunding all the residue of his armie to follow him with

with as much speed as might bee, so that with that company which hee carried with him, hee made way, taking away the trees that were cutte downe to disturbe his passage : and in this order, in short time passed his hoste, without any hurt or daunger, but with great paine and trauell, so certainly if the enemies had bene there to defend that passage, our men had not passed, for it was a verie euill way, and the enemies also thought the same to bee sure with the trees which were crossed the way, whereupon they were carelesse of that place, and attended there comming in plaine ground : for from Tlaxcalan to Mexico are three wayes, of the which Cortes chose the worst, imagining the thing that afterwards fell out, or else some hadde advised him how that way was cleare from the enemies. And being past this crooked passage, they espied the lake of Mexico, and gaue vnto God most heartie thanks for the same, and there made a solemn vow and promise, not to returne, vntill they had wonne Mexico, or lost their liues. They abode there and rested themselves, till all the whole armie were come together, to discende downe into the plaine, for now they might descrie the fires and beacons of their enemies in sundry places, and all those which hadde attended their comming by the other two wayes, were now gathered together, thinking to sette vpon them betwixt certaine Bridges, where a great company abode, expecting their comming : but Cortes sent twentie Hoysmen, who made way among them, and then followed the whole armie, who slue manie of them, without receyuing anie hurt. And in this order they came to Quahuitepec, which is of the iurisdiction of Tezcuco, where they abode that night, and in that place founde neyther manne nor woman : but not farre off was pitched the Campe of the Indians of Culhua, which

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which might be néere a hundred thousand men of warre, who were sent by the seniozs of Mexico, and Texcuco, to encounter our armie, in consideration whereof, Cortes kept good watch with tenne Hozsemen, and all his Souldiers were warned to be in a readinesse at a call, if néede should happen.

The next day in the morning he departed from thence toward Tezcucó, which standeth thre leagues distant, and proceeding on their journey, foure principall persons, inhabitants of Tezcucó, mette with them, bearing a rod of golde, with a little flagge, in token of peace, saying, that Coacuacoyozin their lozd had sent them to desire him not to make any spoile in his countrey, and likewise, to offer his friendship, praying also, that it might please him with his whole armie to take his lodging in the Towne of Tezcucó, where he should be well received. Cortes reioyced with this message, although hee suspected that it was a fained matter, but one of them hee knewe to be true well, to whome he saluted, saying: My comming is not to offend any, but rather to do you good. I will also receive and hold your Lozd for a friend, with condition, that hee doe make unto mee restitution of the treasure which hee tooke from five and forty Spaniards, and thre hundred Thaxcaltecas, all which were by his commaundement also slaine of late dayes. They answered that Mutezuma caused them to be murdered, who had likewise taken the spoile, and that the Citizens of Tezcucó were not culpable in that fact, and with this answer they returned.

Cortes went forward on his way, and came to Quahuacan, and Huaxima, which are subiects of Tezcucó, where he and all his host were plenteously prouided of all things necessarie, and thre to dolne the Idols. This done, hee entred into the citie, where his lodging was prepared in a great house, sufficient for him and all the Spaniards, with

with many other the Indian friends. And herewith that at his first entry, he sawe neither women nor children, hee suspected some treason, and forthwith proclaimed, by open paine of death, that none of his men should go out. The Spaniards began to triumph in their lodgings or chambers, placing every thing in good order. In the evening they went up into the Dories and galleries, to beholde the Citie, which is as bigge as Mexico, altho there they sawe the greates number of Cittizens that fledde from thence with their wives, came to worde the mountaine, and others to the water side to take boates, a thing unalike, to see the great haste and Citie so provided for the miseries, at the least there were twentiethousand like boates (called Conchas) occupied, in carrying household stuffe and passengers. Cortez would faine have remedied it, but that night was so high at hand, that hee could not. He would gladly also have apprehended the Lord, but he was one of the first that fledde unto Mexico. Cortez caused many of the Cittizens, to be called before him, and having in his company a young gentleman of a noble house in that country, who was also fast christened, and had to name Hernando Cortez, being his godfather, who loved him well, said unto the Cittizens, that this new Christian Lord, Don Hernando, was son unto Zecualpincintli their loving Lord, wherefore he required them to make him their king, considering that Cuernacoac was fled unto the enemies, saying also before them, that hee would take in killing of Caluza his stone brother, only to purchase him his inheritance and kingdom, through the enticement of Quahutimocin, a mortall enemy to the Spaniards. In this sort was Don Hernando elected king, and the same therof being blowe abroad, many Cittizens repaired home againe to visite their new Prince, so that in short space the Citie was as well replenished with people, as it was before, and being

also well learned the Spaniards language they served them diligently in all things that they were commaunded. And Don Hernando abode ever after a faithful friend unto the Spaniards, and in short time learned the Spanishe tongue: and soon after came the inhabitants of Quahutchan, Huapocilla and Auctenco, to submit themselves, craving pardon for all that they had offended. Cortes pardoned them, and gave them licence to depart home unto their houses.

Quahutimex, Coacnacoy, and other magistrates of Culhuacan sent to rage upon those nations, for yielding themselves to the Christians, but they laid holde upon the messengers, and brought them unto Cortes, of whom he enquired himselfe of the state of Mexico: and sent them backe againe, requiring their Letters of peace and friendship: but they promised not, for they were fully awayed for the warres. At this instant certaine friends of James Velazquez went by and before the Campe, procuring secretly a mutinie among the souldiers, to have them to returne to Cuba, and utterly to destroy Cortes his workings. This thing was not so secretly wrought, but that Cortes had knowledge, whereupon he apprehended the doers thereof, and by their confessions the matter did plainly appeare, whereupon he condemned to death one Antonio de Villafan, who was naturall of Samora, and forthwith executed the sentence, where with the punishment and mutinie was ended, and ceased.

The

The Spaniards which were sacrificed

in Tezcuco.



aily encreased Cortes in strength and reputation, and many townes as well of the parts of Culhua as others, came vnto his friendship & obedience. With in two dayes that Don Hernando took made him, came certain Gentlemen of Huaxuca and Quahuichan, to certifie vnto him, how all the powder of the

Mexicans was comming towards them, and to knowe if it were his pleasure, that they should carrie their wiues, children, and other good into the mountaines, or else to bying them where hee was, there feare was so great. Cortes made vnto them this answer, saying: be ye of good courage, and feare ye not. Also I pray you to commaunde your wiues and families to make no alteration, but rather quietly to abide in your houses. And concerning the children, I am glad of their comming, for ye shall see how I will deale with them. But the enimies wente not to Huaxuca, as it was thought: neuertheless Cortes hauing intelligence where they were, wente out to encounter them, with two pieces of Ordnance, twelue horsemen and two hundred Spaniards, with many Indians of Tlaxcallan. He fought with the enimie, and slew but few, for they fledde to the water. He burnt certaine townes where the Mexicans were wonte to shelter themselves. The next day came the chiefe men of these townes to craue pardon, and to beseege him not to be stricke them, promising neuer to harbour nor succour any of Culhua.

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The Mexicans hearing what these towne men pretended, with greate ire made a foule correction among them, as did appeare by many of them, which came vnto Cortes with broken heads, desiring reuengement.

The inhabitants of Chalco, sent also vnto him for succour, declaring that the Mexicans made great spoyle among them. But Cortes being ready to send for his Bergantines, could not relieue them all, and especially with Spaniards: wherefore he remitted them to the helpe of the Tlaxcaltecas, and vnto them of Huexocinco, Cholula, Huicicholla and other friends, promising that himselfe he would come himselfe. But this answer pleased him not, yet for the present neede, they required his letters to be written vnto those towne. And being in this communication, there came messengers from Tlaxcallan, with newes, that the Bergantines were ready, and to know if he stood in neede of any succour, for of late, (quoth they) we haue seene many beacons, and fiers, which are greater tokens of warre, then heretofore hath bene seene.

Where came at that time, a Spaniard also from Vera Cruz, with certaine newes, that there had arrived a ship, which had brought thirtie souldiers besides the Garrisoners of the shippe, with eight howles, great store of powder, shotte, Crossbowes, and Barquebushes. The pleasant newes reioyced much our men, whereupon Cortes sent forthwith to Tlaxcallan for the Bergantines, Gonzalo de Sandoval, with two hundred Spaniards, and fiftene howsemen, and commaunded that in their way they should burne, and destroy the towne where the footie five Spaniards and three hundred Tlaxcaltecas were slain, with five howsemen, when Mexico was last besieged; and that village in the jurisdiction of Texcoco, and howe soeuer on the territory of Tlaxcallan, and for that purpose he would gladly haue corrected and punished the rebellers of

of Teczucó, but time then permitted not the same, although they had deserued moze punishment then þ others. For why? in their towne they were sacrificed and eaten, yea, and the wals painted with their blood, shewing moze ouer perfitt tokens, how it was Spaniards blood. They pluckt off also the hoyses skannes, and tanned them in the haire, and after wards hung them vp, with the hoyses shoes in their great temple, and next vnto them the Spaniards garments, for a perpetuall memorie.

Sandoual went vnto that place with determinate intent to follow his commission, and also before he came to the place, he found written in a house with a cole, these wordes: Here in this house was a prisoner the vnfortunat Iohn Iust who was a Gentleman, and one of the siue horsemen that were taken. But the people of that towne, being many, fled when they saw the Spaniards approach nere vnto them. But Sandoual followed them, and slue manie of them: he toke also prisoners many women and childezen, who yelded themselves vnto his mercy, and their bodies for slaues. He seeing so little resistance, and beholding the pitifull mone of the wiues for their husbandes, and the childezen for their fathers, had compassion on them, and would not destroy their towne, but rather caused the dwellers to come again, and pardoned them, with oath, that here after they shoulde serue them truely, and be vnto them loyall friends. In this sort was the death of the Christians returned, yet Sandoual asked them howe they slue so manie Christians without resistance, marie (quoth they) we made an ambush in an euill and narrow way, ascending vp a hill, and there as they went by one and one, we spoiled them, for there, neither hozes, nor other weapon could defend or helpe them, so that wee take them prisoners, & sent them to Teczucó, where, as is before declared, they were sacrificed in the reuengement

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of the imprisonment of Calama.

How the Vergantines were brought from
Tlaxcall to Tezcuco.



Now when the enemies which mur-
thered the Spaniards, were reduced
and chastened, Sandoual proceeded for-
ward toward Taxcallan, and at the
border of that prouince, he met with
the vergantines which were brought
in peces, as tables, planches, & nailes,
with other furniture, the which eight
thousand men carried vpon their backs.

There came also for their safeconduct twentie thou-
sande men of warre, and a thousand Tamemez, who
were the carriers of vittailles, and seruants. When the
Spanish Carpenters sayde vnto Sandouall, that for as
much as they were now come into the Countrey of ene-
mies, it might please him to haue regard therevnto, for
dangers that might happen: he allowed well their iudge-
ment.

Now Chichimecatecl, being a principall man, and a ba-
liant also, was capitaine of a thousand men, and desired to
haue the hauntguard with the Tymber, and hauing had
the same charge hitherto, it should bee an affront for
him, to bee put from it, and gaue manie reasons in his
behalfe. But notwithstanding his request, he was en-
treated to take the regard. And that Tuipil and Teu-
recatl capitaines, verie principall gentlemen, should haue
the hauntgart, with ten thousande men. In the midst
were placed the Tamemez, and those that carried the
sopp, with all the apparell of the Vergantines. Before
those two capitaines, went a hundred Spaniards, and
eight

the vvest India.

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eight hoysmen, and behinde and last, came Sandouall with all the residue, and seven hoysmen. But now although Chichimecatl was offended, touching his first charge, nowe much moze because the Spaniards were not in his companie, saying (quoth he) ye take mee not for balliant, or else not faithfull: What matter being pacified, and every thing in good order, they took their way towards Tezcuco, with a marvellous noyle, crying, Christians, Christians, Tlaxcallan, Tlaxcallan, and Spaine.

On the fourth day they entred into Tezcuco, in verie good order, with the sounde of drummes, snailshells, and other like instrumentes of Spulicke, and agaynst their entry into the Citie, they put on all their batterie of cloathes, and busches of feathers, which truely was a gallant sight: they were the howres marching into the towne, keeping their array.

Cortes came forth to receiue them, and gave great thanks vnto the Gentlemen, and all the companie, and provided them of good lodgings and entertainement.

Of the Docke or trench which was made to lanch the Verganties.



Many thousands of India, came to submitte and offer their tribute vnto Cortes, some for feare of destruction, and others for the hatred which they bare to the Mexicans: So that nowe Cortes was strong both with Spaniards and Indians. Also the Spanishe Capitaine of Segura, sent

a Letter to Cortes, the which letter hee had receyued of another

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another Spaniard, the effect therof was as folloiweth. Possible gentlemen, diuerse times I haue written vnto you, but as yet I neuer receiued answer, nor yet now doe I thinke otherwise, notwithstanding ye shall vnderstand, that the Culhuacans haue done much hurte in this countrey, but we remaine with victorie. This prouince desireth to see and knowe Captain Cortes, for to render themselves vnto him; and nowe they stand in neede of our nation, wherefore it may please you to send vnto vs thirty Spaniardes.

Cortes answered the letter in such sort, that he then presently coulde not sende the thing desired, for that he was ready to the siege of Mexico: notwithstanding he gaue them great thanks, with hope hostile to see them. He that wrote the former letter, was one of the Spaniardes that Cortes hadde sente to the prouince of Chinantla, a yeres passe, to enquire of the secretes of that place, and to seeke for gold and other commodities. And if it so happened, that the Lord of that place made that Spaniarde a Captaine, againste the Culhuacans theyr enemies, for Mutezuma made them warre being farre from Mexico, because they had entertained the Spaniardes. But through the industrie of that Christian, the Lord abode alwaies with victorie, and hauing vnderstanding that some of his nation were in Tepeacac, he wrote so often as the letter beclareth, but none of them came to their handes, but only this last letter: our men required much to heare, that the Spaniardes were alive, and also the Lord of Chinantla to be their friendes like wille they may, well so much helpe they had esaped, for at the time that they fled from Mexico, all other Spaniardes that were abiding in the Mines and other Lordships, were bound by the Indians, to serue them.

Cortes

Cortes made his preparation for the siege of Mexico with all haste, and furnished him with scaling ladders, and other necessities, fitte for such purpose. His Vergantines being ready, and the day appointed, he made a trench of halfe a league of length, and three furlongs broad and more, and two fadome in depth. This done he was fitt to begin, although there were more than two thousand men daily working, truly of labours losse, and want of medicine. The Vergantines were called by the name of cotton boll, and for want of tallow and oyle, they were (as some report), giuen to take mans grease, not that they flew men for that effect, but of those whiche were slaine in the warres. The Indians who were cruell and bloody butchers, using sacrifice, would in this sort open the dead body, and take out the grease. The Vergantines being launched, Cortez mustered his men, and founde nine hundred Spaniards, of the which were 86. Horsemen, and a hundred and eightene with Crossbowes, and a hundred, and all the rest had sundry weapons, as stoores, daggers, Targets, Haubices, and Halbertes. Also they had for armour, corselets, coats of maile, and Mikes. They had also some of the great peeces of cast yron, and some small peeces of brasse, and some hundred weight of powder, with store of shotte. All that he hath heard, was the prediction that Cortez had for the siege of Mexico, the strongest and greatest Citie in all India, and he was to win it. In each Vergantine he placed a pece of hissel. He proclaimed againe all the instructions and ordinances of the warre, paying and commanding that they might be well and faithfully obserued, and said, Myselfe and my fellowes, now do you for our vessels ready: you and also you doe remember howe troublesome a thing it hath bene to bring them hether with the cold and sweat

A strange
tallowe.

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of our friends, and one of the chiefe hopes that I have shortly to winne Mexico are these vessels, for with theſe we will burne all their Canoes, as also we will ſo locke them by, that they ſhall not help them, hereby we will amplement our ſelfe as much that way, as your army ſhall by hand. I have alſo a hundred thousand men of warre my friends to beſiege this Citie, who are (as you know) the valiantest men in al theſe partes. You have alſo your vittailles provided abundantly, and that which now we portend, is, that you play the mynne, as heretofore you have done, and ought humbly to pray unto God for victory, for that this worke is his.

The order of the host and army of Cortes for to beſiege Mexico.

The next day following, Cortes ſent into the mountaines of Texcoco, Hoxocingo, Chololla, Chalco, and other Townes, warning them with his letters, that ſhould come into Texcoco, with their armour, weapon, and other necessaries, for the ſiege of Mexico. He certified them alſo, that the Spaniards were ready with all their furniture accordingly, and the Spaniards were very desirous to loſe no time, wherefore they meante not to delay their progress, farther then the day appointed. The Indian hearing this newes, and becauſe they would not come ſo late to the beginning of the assault, came discontented, and arrived into Texcoco in good order of warre, above fiftie thousand men, gallantly trimmed after their use and cuſtome. Cortes friendly welcommed them, and provided them lodging accordingly. On Monday, all the Spaniards came into the field, where Cortes made three chiefe Captaines, as

along

The west India.

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mong whome he deuised his whole army. Vnto Pedro de Aluaredo the first Captaine, he appointed thirtie horsemen, and a hundred and seuentie footemen of the Spaniards, two pieces of ordnance, and thirtie thousand Indians, committuing him to campe in Tlacopan. Vnto Cristoual de Olid the seconde Captaine, he gaue thye and thirtie horsemen, and a hundred and eightene footemen of the Spanishe nation, two pieces of ordnance, and thirtie thousand Indians, and appointed him to pitch his campe in Culhuacan. To Gonfalo de Saloua who was the thirde Captaine, he gaue thye and twentie horsemen, and 1600 footemen, two pieces of ordnance, and 40000 Indians, but in commission for those a place to pitch his Campe, and in the morning Morgartine he planted a piece of ordnance, sixe hundred shot, 100 trolladoes, and 20 Spanishe men well fitted for that purpose. He appointed also Captaines for each, and himselfe for general, whereof some of the chiefe of his companie began to murmure that went by land, thinking that they had ben in greater daungery wherfore they required him to goe with the maine battell, and not by water. Cortes little esteemed their words, for although it is moze daunger in the water then in the land, yet it did moze importe to haue greater care in the warres by water, then on the land, because his men had bene in the one, and not in the other.

On the tenth of May, Aluaredo, and Cristoual de Olid departed, and went that night to a towne called Acapulco, where was betwixt them greates diuorce, seeking their lodgings, yea and if Cortes had not sente to take up the matter, much mischief had ensued. The next day they lodged in Xoluepec, which was not inhabited. The thirde day they came vnto Tlacopan, which was also all the townes of the lake, without people, there they were lodged in the Lordes house of the towne.

be taken prisoner should be sacrificed, but rather to be preserved for conclusion of peace if neede should so require. And finally some said, that they should demand of their God, what was best to doe.

The King that inclined himselfe more to peace than to warre, saide, that he would remitte the matter to the iudgement of the Idolles, and that he would advise them what answere should be made unto him: but in heart he desired to come to some honest truce and agreement with Cortes, fearing the thing that after did ensue. But seeing his Counsell and subjects so determined to warre, he commanded foure Spaniards which he had prisoners in a Cage, to be sacrificed unto the Goddes of warre, with a great number more of Indians. At which sacrifice was present: He spake to the Idoll in the Image of Xucilopuchli, A Diuinitie who answered him, that he should not feare the Spaniards being but fewe, nor yet those which were comen to helpe them, for that they should not long abide in the siege, commanding him to goe forth and to encounter them without feare, for he would helpe them and kill his enemies. With this answer of the Idoll, Quahucimoc commanded forthwith to breake downe the bridges, watch the Citie, make bulwerkes, and to arme five thousande boates, and saide unto the Spaniards, that the Goddes woulde be pleased with the sacrifice of their bodies, the snakes filled with their blood, and the Eagles relieved with their flesh, they saide also to the Indians of Tlaxcalan, byge Cuchilhuames, Quauac traitors to your gods, and king, will you not repent the wickednesse which you have committed agaynst your maisters, therefore shall you nowe die an euill death, for either you shall die with hunger, or else vpon the knife: and then will we eat your flesh, and make thereof a solenne banquet, as the like hath heretofore neuer been seene, and in token thereof, take

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take these cities and to give us the way to the cities of your stone men, to which we have not our selves so; the obtaining of victory. And after these warres, we will go unto your Contrey, and spoyle your towne, and leaue no meinoze of your blood by generation. The Texcal-
 ceac thought at their made talkes, and sayd, that it should be better for them to yelde, and submitte themselves to Cortes his mercy, and if not, yet it were moze profitable to fight then to bragg; killinge them to come out into the field. And thus they agreed, that the ende of all their knaueerie was at hand, if it was a word to come and see the braggies and chiding on both sides. Cortes hearing of all these matters, sent Sandoval to take Ixcapalapan, and he embarked himselfe to come to him at that place.

Sandoval could not see the way in the night, so he sent the townes men and people into the night, and into Mexico, on the other side of the lake. He turned to the town. Cortes came at that time to a strong towne like a towne, situated in the water; where being much of a while, they who hading them approch with their Mergantines, but their boats came on fire, and they who were upon them flote and shot off their arrows. Cortes went a shoze with a hundred and fiftie men, and combatted the foe; till at length he had the battlement, which was the lake, best defence, and with such shot he came to the top, and there fought untill he had not left one alive, saving women and children. It was a daye bloody, although fine and twenty Spaniards were hurt and wounded, yet the foe was strong, and the death was great discouraging of the enemy.

At this instant, were so many beacons and other fires made rounde about the lake, and upon the hills, that all seemed a light fire. And also the Mexicans hearing that the Mergantines were coming, they came out in their boates,

beaten with his hand, and the Spaniards, which came to
 let such new kind of the ships, and to prove what they
 were, being a thing of so great nature. Cortes therefore
 began himself with the spirit of the host, and commannded
 his men to abide all together for the better resistance, and
 because the enemies should think that they feared, where
 upon they might without any and when, give the onset
 upon the Spaniards, and so to get the victory in the straits.
 But it followed, that when they sawe within that of the
 Spaniards, and in manner, they feared nothing more, com-
 panies, but in that space there came so many Canoes, that
 it seemed a wonder to behold in the world, such a ter-
 rible noise with the voices of many, some of the
 and other like in the words of warre, that they could not
 heare one another, with such great cries and hugges,
 as they had done in time past. And at only small ad-
 vance, and being both parties in a readiness to fight, there
 happened such a quick charge, on the Morgantines, which
 came from the shore, that it seemed maynfullous. Cortes the
 praying God, commannded all his captaines to give the
 onset, although he, it not to be afraid, that the enemies should
 be wily to retire into the water, for that it was the plea-
 sure of God to sende unto them that prosperous winds, in
 token of his love. And his talks ended, they beganne to set
 upon the enemies, who seeing the Morgantines come with
 such luckie wind, yea & such a sight as the like unto them
 had not bene seen, they beganne to flee with such great
 haste, that they spoiled, brake, and sunke many of them,
 and such as stood to defende themselves, were slaine,
 so that this battaile, was soon ended. They pursued
 them two leagues, untill they had locked them up
 in the water streets of Mexico, and toke many Lordes
 and Spaniards, many others. And the key of all these wars
 consisted in this, for so, for our men remained for lords of
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the whole lake, and the enemies with great feare and losse: they had not time to save themselves, but that there were so many of them? to be viltaine to none another: And when Aluado, and Gonsaluo de Ouidia, the first that came of Cortes by water, they entered the lake of Mexico with their armie, and took the battles beinge in the bayes, who dyde the Indians from their country in their homes and strongly: And with the help of the Christians together they took the Indians were with them, takinge a whole day upon the battles, and many more the enemy dyde, they procured to escape, and so fell into the hands of Cortes.

Cortes then went on by the winding of Canoes, the Indians had not time to save themselves, but that there were so many of them? to be viltaine to none another: And when Aluado, and Gonsaluo de Ouidia, the first that came of Cortes by water, they entered the lake of Mexico with their armie, and took the battles beinge in the bayes, who dyde the Indians from their country in their homes and strongly: And with the help of the Christians together they took the Indians were with them, takinge a whole day upon the battles, and many more the enemy dyde, they procured to escape, and so fell into the hands of Cortes.

How Cortes besieged Mexico



the night of Cortes his abiding there, was perilous, for he had not above a hundred men in his company, and about midnight he was taken with the Mexicans, both by land and by water, although they accustomed not to fight in the night, but the Mergansers

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times made them sone to retire.

In the morning came vnto Cortez from Cristoual de Olid, eight hoysmen, and foure scoze fote men. The Mexicans combatted the Towers, where Cortes was lodged, who incontinent came forth and bzaue them alög the calsey, vntil he had worne another bzidge & a bulwarke, and made a great spoile among them, with the ozdinaunce and hoysmen, pursuing them to the vtmost houses of the Citie: and becaule many of the Canoas which were on the other side of the Calsey galled Cortes and his menne, he bzake downe so muche of the calsey, that he might well passe some of his Wergantines to the otherside, the which with few encounters shutte vp the Canoas on that side, within the succour of Mexico: and in this wise he remained Lord ouer bothe the lakes.

The next day Sandaual departed from Iztacpalapon toward Culhuacan, and in this way he toke and spoiled a little Citie that standeth in the lake, because they came out to resist him. Cortes sente vnto him two Wergantines to passe his men where the calsey was broken. Sandoual left his company with Cristoual de Olid, & wnt to Cortes with tenne hoysmen, and when he came he found him in fight with the enemies, and he alighting from his hoys, an Indian peried him through the fote with a dart. Many Spaniards were hurte that day, but their grieve was well reuenged, for from that day forthwarde the Indians courage was muche abated. With the paines, labour, and victozy, already obtained, Cortes might now at ease pitch his campe at his owne pleasure where he woulde, and also prouide his army of victuals: five dayes he ceased not skirmishing, and the Wergantines likewise found out channels that they might goe rounde aboute the Citie, yea and wente spoiling and burning many houses within the suburbs.

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Mexico was besieged in foure places, although at the first they determined but thre. Cortes was placed betwixt the two Towers of the calise: Pedro de Aluarado in Tlacopan: Cristoual de Olid in Culhuacan: Gonfalo de Sandoval in Xaltoca: so; they had aduice that the same way they would flee out of the Citie, seeing themselves in any daunger. It would not haue grieved Cortes to haue left a passage so; the enimie, but onely because they should not profit themselves vpon the land, and prouide y^e Citie that way of armour and victual, yea, he also thought to preuail against his enimies better vpon the lande then vpon the water. And againe according to the olde prouerbe, When thine enimie sleeth make him a brydge of siluer.

The first skirmish within the citie of
Mexico.

Cortes pretended to enter the Citie, and to gette what he could, and also to see what stomache the enimie had: he sent to aduise his captaines, that eche of them shoulde doe the like, requiring them to send vnto him some of their horsemen and footemen. He gaue speciall commaundemēt to Cristoual de Olid to haue regard to the keeping of his calise, and to forsee that the inhabitants of Xochmilco, Culhuacan, Iztacpalspan, Vitzilpucheli, Mexicalcingco, Cuertlauac, and other cities thereabouts come not that way behind them and vntwaies. He commaunded that the Mergantines should goe along the calise on both the sides, if any neede should happen. Cortes early in the morning came out of his campe with 200. Spaniards, and 80000. Indian friends: they had gone but a small space, when they met with their enimies well armed, keeping the gappe where the calise was broke, which broken place mought be a speares length, and as much in depth.

depth. They fought with them, who for a great space defended themselves behinde a bulwarke, but in fine, he wanne the passage, and followed them vnto the entrance of the citie, where was a Towre, and at the foote thereof a bzidge drawen, where a good streame of water passed. This place was very strong to combat, yea and fearefull to behold the passage where the draw bzidge was. They ceased not shooting of arrowes and hurling of stones, so that our men coulde not come nere, untill the Mergantines came, and by meanes of them they wanne that fort with lesse paines then they imagined: for without the Mergantines it had not bene possible to haue entred the Citie.

The enemies being now fled from that holde, our men alanded there, with the Indian friendes, who incontinent dammed vp the broken place with stones and earth. The Spaniardes of the vantgarde, tooke another bulwarke, whiche was planted in the largest and sayest strate of the Citie, and pursued the enemy to another draw bzidge, which remained, but with one posse of beame, vpon the which many of the Indians passed ouer, and then tooke the beame away and abode to defende the place: but when our men approached & sawe how the matter went, Cortes commanded two peces of Ordnance to be broughte, with the which, and with their Harquebushes, they did great hurt among the Mexicans, who began to faine, and lose their courage, the which being vnderstode, certaine Spaniards swam ouer where the draw bzidge was, with their weapons in their mouthes. But when the enemy sawe them passe ouer, they began, as well from that place as from the house tops, zoties and bulwarkes, which they had defended for the space of two houres, to flie. Cortes and his whole army being passed ouer, he commanded to damme vp that broken place of the draw bzidge,

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with earth, rubbish, and stones, and proceeding forthwarde, they came to an other bridge which had no bulwarke, but was neare one of the chiefest places of the Cittie, and there placed a peece of Ordnance wherewith they did great hurt, and seeing them now past all the bridges, they determined to enter into the heart of the Cittie. When the Mexicans perceiued their determination, they began to prouide euery one for himselfe, for some fled one way, and some another, but the most went to the great temple of Idols. The Spaniards and their friends pursued after them, and among the throng got into the Temple, where they slew many, and at length they went vp into the high Tower, and there they downe the Idols, among whom they made a great spoyle.

Quahutimoc beganne to repprehend his men for their cowardie and flight, who gathered themselves together, and considering their ouersight, and that there were no horses, began a freshe to sette vpon the Spaniards, and with force and strength dyaue them out of all the circuite of the Temple, and made them trust to their sate. But when Cortes sawe his men come flying, hee caused them to returne and to shewe face vnto the enemye, declaring vnto them how shamefull a thing it was to flie: But seeing the strength and multitude of their enemies, they had no other remedie but onely to retire to the greates market place, yea & from thence also they were expelled, and lost a peece of their Ordnance. But being now in this extremitie, there came three horsemen who played the valiant men, and made way through the troupe of enemies, who at the sight of the horses began to flie, and our men to follow with such heart and courage, that in short time they tooke the great Temple againe: then came other six horsemen who ioyned with the other three, and lay in ambush, where they slew 30. Mexicans. The day being now farre.

farre spent, and the night at hand, Cortez commanded his army to retire, and they obeying his commandement, had not so sone turned their backs, but an infinite number of enemies were at their heles, who if it had not bene for the bozemen, had slaine many Spanyards, for they came vpon them like rauening dogs without any feare, yet with the succour of the bozemen, the enemy was put againe to flight, and our men burned many houses, to auoyd at their next coming the daunger of stones which were throtone from their toppes. The other Captaines, who were Sandoual and Aluado, fought valiantly on the other side of the Citie.

The great hurt and damage in the houses
of Mexico with fire.



In this meane while, Don Hernando of Tezcucó, wente throughtout his Lordship, to allure his vassall to the service and friendship of Cortes, according to his former promise: and whether it were seeing the Spaniards prosperitie in the siege of Mexico, or otherwise, he brought almost the whole prouince of Culhuacan, which is vnder the government of Tezcucó, with six or seven of his owne brethren, for moze he could not, although he had moze then a hundred brethren, as hereafter shalbe declared. One of them named Ixtlixchilh, being a valiant yong man, of the age of four & twentie yeares, he appointed general Captain ouer fiftie thousand men of war, wel armed & trimmed according to their fashion. Cortes did frendly receiue & welcom them, giuing them great thanks for their aide and good wills. Of these new come men, he toke into his owne host thirte thousand,

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and diuided the residue equally among the other Captaines.

This was a forrowfull newes to the Mexicans, to heare of the succour which Don Hernando hadde sent to serue Cortes, and with-holde the same from them, yea and also among them were some kinsmen, brethren, and fathers, to many of them which were in Mexico, in the seruice of Quahutimoc.

Two daies after that these men were come, there came also men of Xochmilco, and certaine husbandmen of the Mountains, who spake the Orhomelh speech, beseeching Cortes to pardon their long tarrying, offering also both men and vittailles for the siege. Cortes was pleased with their comming and gentle offer, for they being his friends, he was assured of them of Culhuacan, and said vnto them, within these three daies (God willing) I will combate the citie, therefore against that time I pray you prepare your selues accordingly, and therein shall I know whether you be my friends or no: and with this answer they departed, promising to fulfill his request, as they did indeed. This done, he sent three Wergantines to Sandoual, and other three to Aluarado, for to disturbe any succour that might come from the land to the Citie, and like wise to defende and aide the Spaniards at all times, when they would land vpon the sawsey, to combate the Citie, for he wel vnder stood how profitable those vessels would be nere vnto the bridges.

The captaines of the Wergantines ceased not night and day to runne the coast and Townes of the lake, where they toke many boates from the enemies, laden with men and vittaille, and permitted none to come into the Citie, nor yet any to come out.

The day appointed to the enemies for the combate, Cortes made his prayers vnto God, & then enformed each
Captaine

Captaine what he should do, and came forth with twentie hoysmen, three hundred Spaniards, and a great number of Indians, with their pieces of Ordnance, and where in three or foure dayes before they had not skirmished, time serued the Mexicans as well to open al those places which were damaged by before, and also to build better Bulwarkes then those which were throwne downe, attending with that horrible noise accustomed. But when they saw the Mergantines on each side, their ioy was turned into sorrow, and began to faint, the which our men understood well, and therewith alanded themselves vpon the cawley, and toan the bulwarke and the bidge. Our army proceeding sozward, set vpon the enemies, untill they came to another bidge, the which was likewise throwne in thozt time, and this pursued from bidge to bidge, alwayes fighting, untill they had dyuen them from the cawley and streets.

Cortez soz his part lost no time, soz he with ten thousand Indians laboured to damme vp againe the fluces and broken places of the bidges, making the way plaine both soz Hoysmen and footemen: it was so much to doe, that all those ten thousand Indians were occupied therein from the morning untill evening.

The other Spaniards and Indian friends skirmished continually, and slew many of their enemies. Likewise the Hoysmen to recover the streets, that the enemies were forced to lock them vp in their houses and temples. It was a notable thing to see how our Indians played the men that day agaynst the Citizens: sometimes they would challenge them the sold: other times they would condite them to supper, and shew vnto them legs, armes, and other pieces of mans flesh: saying, behold, your owne flesh which shal serue soz our supper and breakfast, and to morrow we will come soz more, therefore die not.

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you are valiant fellows, yet it were better for you to die fighting then with hunger. And after all this speech, every one of them called upon the name of his owne Towne with a loud voice, setting fire upon their houses. The Mexicans were replenished with sorrow, to see themselves so afflicted with Spaniards, but yet their sorrow was so much the greater, to heare their owne vassalles so raile against them, saying and crying at their owne doores, victory, victory, Tlaxcallan, Chalco, Xochmilco, and other Townes: the eating of their flesh grued them not, for they did the like.

Cortes seeing the Mexicans so stout and hard barted, with full determination either to defende themselves or else to dye, thereupon he be thought himselfe vpon two things, the one was, that he should not obtaine the treasure which he had seen in the time of Mutezuma: the other was, that they gaue him occasion totally to destroy the Citie. Both these things grued him much, but especially the destruction of the Citie. He imagined with himselfe what hee might doe, to bring them to acknowledge their error, and the hurt that might fall vpon them, and for these considerations hee pluckt downe their Towers, and brake their Idoles. He burned also the great house wherein hee was lodged before, and the house of soule which was nere at hand. There was not one Spaniard who had seen that magnificall building before, but lamented sore the sight: but to agrue the Citizens, it was commanded to be burned. There was neuer Mexican, that thought any humane force, how much lesse so few Spaniards, should haue entred into Mexico in despite of them all, and to set fire vpon their principallest edifices within the citie. While this house was a burning, Cortes gathered his men, and retired to his Campe. The Mexicans would faine haue remedied the fire, but it was

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too late, and seeing our men retire, they followed with their noise accustomed, and drew some of our men, who were laden with the spoyle, and came behinde the rest. The horsemen relieved our men, and caused the enemy to retire, in such wise, that before night all our men were in safetie and the enemies in their houses, the one sort full of sorrow, and the others wearied with fight & travell. The slaughter was great that day, but the burning and spoyle of houses was greater, for besides those which we haue spoken of, the Tergantines did the like where they went, and the other Captaines also were not idle where they were appointed.

Things that happened to Pedro de Aluarado,
through his bolde attempt.



Edro de Aluarado, would passe his army to the Market place of Tlalulco, for he toke much paine, and stood in perill, in sustaining the bridges which he had gotten, hauing his sort almost a league from thence. And againe, he being a man of a haughtie stomacke, thinking as well to get honour as his

Generall, and likewise being prouoked by his company, who saye, that it were a shame for them if Cortes should winne that Market place, being moze nearer vnto them, then vnto him: whereupon he determined to winne those bridges which as yet were vntowne, and to place himself in the Market place. He proceeded with all his army vntill they came to another broken bridge, which was sixtie paces of length, and two fadome deepe, the which with the helpe of the Tergantines, he wanne in short space, and gaue order to certaine of his men to damme it by substantiall,

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cially, and hee himselfe pursued his enemies, with fiftie Spaniards. But when the Citizens sawe so fewe in number, and all footmen, (for the horses could not passe the Quee so faine,) they came vpon them so suddenly and fiercely, that they made our men to turne their backs, and trust to their legges; yea and our men fell into the water, they knew not which way. They slew many of our Indians, and foure Spaniards, who forthwith they sacrificed, and ate their flesh in the open sight of all the army.

Aluado saue his owne folly, in not beleuing Cortez, who had alwaies forewarned him, not to proceed forward, untill he had made the way sure behinde him: but Aluado his Counsellers paid e their counsel with life, Cortes so roined for the same; for the like had happened vnto him, if he had giuen credite to their counsel. But as a prudent Captaine, he considered the matter better, for euery house was then an Island, the calsey broken in many places, and the houses or house toppes beset with stones, for these and such like places vled Quahutimoc. Cortes wente to see where Aluado had pitched his Camp, and also to rebuke him for that which was past, and to aduise him what he should do: But when he came, and found him so far with in the libertie of the Cittie, and the dangerous places which had passed, he did highly commend his valiant and good seruice: he also communed with him of many things concerning the siege, and then returned to his owne camp.

Aluado was much troubled, and greatly distressed, for hee sawe that Cortes was not at all contented with his owne camp, and that hee was much more contented with the Cittie. The

the vvest India.

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The triumph and sacrifice which the Mexi-
cans made for their victorie.



Cortes delaied the time, to pitch his Campe in the Market place of Mexico, although daily his men entred and skirmished within the Cittie, for the causes befoze alleaged, and likewise to see if Quahutimoc would yeld himself. And also the entrie could not bee but very dangerous, for the great multitude of enemies that filled vp the streets.

All his company Spaniards toynly, with the Kings Treasurer, seeing the determination of Cortes, and the hurt already receiued, besought and also required him to passe his Campe vnto the Market place: who answered them, that they had spoken like valiaunt men, but as yet (quoth he) it is not time conuenient, and we ought to consider better of the matter: for why? the enemies are fully determined to enbe their lines in defence of that place. But his menne replied so much, that hee was compelled againe to graunt their request, and proclaimed the entrance for the next day following. He wrote also in his Letters to Gonfalo de Sandoual, and to Pedro de Aluarado, the instructions of the things that they shoulde doe, whiche was in effect; to Sandoual, that hee should remoue his Campe with all his sardage, as though hee would retire and flee, and that vpon the calley hee shoulde haue tenne horsemen in ambushe, behind certain houses, to the intent that when the Citizens should espie them flee, and would pursue after them to passe betwixt them and holme: with the saide horsemen, and

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after the hurt done among them, in this sort, that then he with all his army should come where Pedro de Aluado abode, with other tenne horsemen, a hundred fote men, and the Spanie of Mergantines, and leauing with him his men, should then take thre of the Mergantines, and to procure to winne that broken bidge, where Aluado of late receiued the foyle: and if hee fortun'd to winne that place, that then hee should damme it vp, and make it sure, befoze hee passed any further: and the like order hee gaue vnto him for all other broken places that hee should passe.

Vnto Aluado hee gaue commission, that hee should passe as farre into the Citie as hee might possible, requiring him also to sende vnto him eightie Spaniards. He also appointed the other seauen Mergantines, to passe into both the lakes, with thre thousande Canoes. He diuided likewise all his army into thre companies, because they had thre wayes to enter into the Citie. By the one of these wayes or strates, entred the Treasurer and Auditoz, with sequentie Spaniards, twentie thousande Indians, eight horsemen, twelue labourers with pikeaxes and shouels, and many other idle fellows, to carry earth and stones, and to fill vp the broken places, and to make the way plaine.

The seconde strate he commended to George de Aluado, and Andres de Tapia, with eightie Spaniards, tenne thousand Indians, two pieces of Ordnance, and eight horsemen. Cortes himselfe took the third way, with a great number of friends, and a hundred Spaniards fote men, of the which were twentie five with Crossebowes and Harguebushes, and commanded his horsemen which were eight in number, to abide there behinde, and not to follow after, until he should send for them. In this order, and all at one instant, they entred the Citie, the
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ing the hearts of valaint men, greatly annoying the enemy, and wan many bridges, but when they came nére into the towne house called Tianquizili, there gathered together such a number of the Indian friends, who befoze their eyes scaled, entred, and robbed their houses, that they thought assuredly, that the same day the citie had bin twonne. Cortez commaunded that they should procéde no futher, saying, that they had done sufficiently for that day, for also he feared afterclappes. He likewise demaunded together all the broken bridges were made sure, in the which (quoth he) consisteth the peril and victorie. But those that went with the Treasurer, following victorie and spoyle, had left a bridge not well dammed up, but verie hollowe and false, the which was of twelue paces broad, and two fadom in depth. When Cortez was aduertised hereof, he went thither to remedie the same, but he was no sooner come, when he sawe his men flying, and leaping into the water, with feare of the cruell enemies, which followed, who leapt after them into the water, to kill them. There came also along the cattsey manie Indian boats of enemies, who took many of the Indian friends and Spaniards alike. When Cortez and other sifterne persons, which were with him, serued for no other purpose but to helpe out of the water those that were fallen, some came wounded, and others halfe drowned, and without armour: yea and the multitude of enemies so beset Cortez and his sifterne companions, who were helping their men, and so occupied in the same, that they had no regarde to their owne peril. Whereupon certain Mexicans laid hand upon Cortez, who truly they had caried away if it had not bin for one Francisco de Olea his seruāt, who cut off at one blowe the armes of them that had holde of him, and he by the enemies was immediately slaine, so that he died to saue his masters life. When came Antonio de Quinionez

A kind hearted captain.

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captaine of the guard, who caught Cortez by the arme, and by force pluckt him out of the thrang of enimies; with whom valiantly he fought. But then with the same that Cortez was prisoner, came many spaniards, amōg whom was one hoyleman, who made some roome, but in short space they thrust him through the throte with a launce, and made him to retire. The fight ceased a little, and Cortez had a hoyle brought unto him, on the which he lightlye mounted, and gathering his men together, came to the Citie of Tlacopan, which was large and faire. There died Guzman his Chamberlaine, giving a hoyle unto his maister, whose death was much lamented amōg them all, for he was a man valiant, honeste, and welbeloued. There fel also into the water two hoyles; the one was saued, but the other was killed by the Indians. As the Treasurer and his company were combatting a bulwarke, their enimies shot out of a window thre spaniards heads unto them, saying: the like they would doe with their heads, if they went not from thence the sooner. They seeing this sight, and likewise considered the great hurte and spoile made among them, began to retire by little and little.

The Mexican Priests went vp into the Towers of Tlatelulco, and made their fires in chafing dishes, and put there vnto the sweete grain of Copalli in token of victorie, and forthwith stripped fiftie spaniards captiues as naked as they were borne, and with their fine razors opened them in the breastes, and pluckt out their hartes for an offering to the Idols; and sprinkled their blood in the ayre. Our men seeing before their eyes the dolefull sight, would faine haue gone to reuerge the cruel custome. But as time then required, they had inough to doe to put themselves in safetie; though the greates troupe of Indians which came vpon them, who now feared neither

hoyle

horse nor sword. This day as ye haue heard, were fortie Spaniards sacrificed, and Cortes wounded in one of his legges, and thirtie more of his men: they lost a peece of Ordnance, and foure horses. Also that day was slaine above two thousand Indian friends, and many Canoes lost, and the Bergantines in great daunger, and the captaine and maister of one of them were wounded. Whereof the captaine died within eight dayes, the same day were also slaine foure of Aluaro's men, that day was an unfortunate or dismall day, and the night beinge sorrowfull, and replenished with lamentable griefe among the Spaniards and their friends. On the other side, the Mexicans triumphed with ioy, and made great bonefires, blew their hornes, strake vp their drummes, daunced, banqueted, and dranke themselves drunke: they also opened their streets, and bridges, as they were before, and placed their scout and watch about the Citie. And as soone as it was day, the king Quehutimoc, sent two Christians heads, and two horse heads into all the comercanes there about, to signifie their vicorie, and to require them to forsake the Christians friendship, promisinge in short space to make the like ende of all those that remained, and deliuer the countrey from war. These things encouraged some prouinces to take armour against Cortes, beinge his allied friends as Malualco, and Cuixco. The next day was some bloiue abroad into many prouinces: whereupon our men feared rebellion among their new friends, yea and mutinie in their owne campe, but it pleased God that it fell out other wise. The next day Cortes came out againe to fight, to the we face to the enemies, but he turned againe from the first bridge, without doinge any great act.

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with all good order and discipline. The next day he went on to the city of Mexico. The

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The determination of Cortes to destroy the
Cite of Mexico.



Chichimecalt, a noble man of Tlaxcallan, (who had brought the Limber of the Mergantines, from whence it was brought, and was placed in the companie of Ahuado at the beginning of the siege of Mexico,) seeing that the Spaniards fought not as they were wont to doe, hee alone

with the men of his owne Countrey, went forth to combat the Cite, being a thing which hee had not attempted, gave assault agaynst those which defended a certaine bridge, and with great noyse cried, and named his Cite and linage, and in short space won the bridge, where hee left foure hundred Archers, and followed after the enemye, who of his owne Bedde, thinking to take him at his returne, and at length the enemye returned upon him, where they made a faire skirmish, for the sight was squall. There were manie hurt and slaine on both sides, so that with the dead carcases they supped at will. But they thought to overthrow him at the bridge, not knowing of the foure hundred Archers which were there to attend Chichimecalt's coming, by means of whom, hee passed at pleasure, to the great griefe of the Mexicans, yea and remained not a little amazed to see the valour and bolde attempt of the Tlaxcaltecas.

The Spaniards like wise highly commended the fact, for where our men combated not as they were wont to doe, the

the Mexicans imagined that the cause was cowardize, in
firmite, or want of vittailles: where upon one day at the
sunne rising, they set upon Aluado his Campe, which
being espied by the watch, they began to erie, arme, arme,
in such a manner as well footemen as horsemen, and put the
to flight, at which retire many of the Mexicans were drow-
ned, and others soe hurt and wounded. When said the
Mexicans, that they desired to talke with Cortes, who
came vnto a dyane: vnderstanding what they would
haue, vnto whom sometime they said, that peace was their
request, and other times they demanded truce, but finally
required that the Spaniards should depart from that
Countrey. All this policie was but to seele what strength
and courage our enemies had, and to haue truce for a certain
time, for to prouide them of such necessities as they want-
ed, for their determinate purpose was, to die in the de-
fence of their countrey and religion. Cortes answered,
that truce was not convenient for either partie, but peace
was laurable at all times, the which for his part, although
he hadde besorged the Citie, should not be denied: there-
fore he willed them to wey his plentiful estate of vittails,
and their owne neede and necessitie of the same. They
being in this communication with their interpreters, ap-
peared an auncient olde man on the top of the bulwarke,
in who in the sight of them all, pluckt be ad out of his fat-
cheil peece by peece, and began to eat, giuing them to vnder-
stand, that they shoud be in no neede of vittailles, and so
made an ende of their talke.

The siege of this Citie seemed a long time to Cortes,
for in nere fiftie dayes that he had begun the same, yet
could not he bying his desire to passe, yea and much mar-
uelled; that the enemies could endure so long a season with
dayly skirmishing, and also how they refused peace, and
concord, knowing how many thousands of them had ben
slaine,

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slaine, and ended their miserable lines with hunger.

Whereupon again he sent this last message unto them, that if they would not yeelde themselves, then he hauing them enuironed by land and water, would sea them all, and not permit any kinde of victuall to come vnto them, so that their extremitie should be so great, that they should eate one another: their answer was, that first the Spaniards should taste of the same cup, so that the threatning increased their courage, and occupied themselves in carrying stones to the market place, and many other streets, to stoppe the way against the Houses and their masters.

Cortes, although it grieved him to destroy totally so beautifull a Citie, yet he determined to bying all the houses of the streets that he should winne, to be equall with the ground; and to stop with them the Channels of water. He communicated the matter with his Captaines, who liked well of his intent, although it was a troublesome thing. He also aduertised the Gentlemen Indians his friends of his determination, who highly commended his deuice.

Cortes seeing the cowardise of all his army, he called and prepared all his labourers, with their pikeaxes and shouels, so that in these affaires, and in setting his men in good order, he spent foure dayes, and then he began to combat the streete, which goeth directly to the market place, then faintly the Citizens desired peace. Cortes staied, and asked for their King: they answered, that they had sent for him, whereupon Cortes tarried an houre, and then they began to reuile him, and to throw stones, and shot at him. The Spaniards seeing this, gaue the onset, and won a fort, and came into the chiefe place of the Citie. They cleaued the streets of the houses which they had laide to hinder their passage, and stopped so by the water streete in that place, in such wise, that neuer after it was opened againe, and threw downe all the houses, making the

the entrance into the Citie an open plaine high way, and then retired to their Campe. Also five dayes a row they did the like, without receiuing any hurt, saving the last day two horses were hurt:

The next day Cortes laid an ambush with fiftie horsemen, and sent befoze him the Mergantines, but he himself with thirtie horsemen, abode in certaine great houses in the Market place. They fought that day in many places of the citie, and at the retire, one shot off a handgun, which was the token that those which lay in ambush should come forth. The enemies followed our men, that seemed to be with marvellous courage. But they were not so long pasted the snare, when Cortes came forth with his thirtie horsemen, saying, Upon them, upon them: By this onely meane were slaine about five hundred Mexicans, besides the prisoners.

Our Indian friends had a good supper that night with man's flesh, which as yet they would not be perswaded to leane. Certaine Spaniards went by into a Tower of Idols, and there opened a sepulchre, where they found five hundred Castles in golde: With this overthrowe the Mexicans remained in such feare, that all their threatenings and tryumphs were turned into mourning: and after when they sawe our men retire, they would not follow them, fearing the like danger, so that this was a meane, the sooner to win Mexico.

¶ 2. In the morning The
The

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The hunger and infirmie which the Mexicans suffered with great courage:



unto more soules who were vexed with hunger, came in the night season out of the citie unto Cortes his Camp, who certified, how the Citizens were in greete necessitie, and so many dead with hunger and sickness, that there were heapes of dead bodies in the houses, only to keepe close their eyes from miserie: and said also, that in the night season manie came out to sithe betwix the houses with feare of the Mergantines, and others came out to take soj woodde, hearbes, and rootes to eate.

Cortes hearing these newes, determined to knowe the troth thereof, so that the nexte night he commanded the Mergantines to goe round about the Citie, and he himself with fiftene Horsemen, a hundred footemen, and manie Indian friends, placed themselves betwixt certaine houses, with order of his spies, to aduertise him what they should see. He told no secret say, but manie more soules came out to take soj woodde: and when Cortez had intelligence thereof, he made a greete slaughter among them, to witte at that time of unarmed men, women, and children, were slaine to the number of eight hundred: and the Mergantines on their swoorde made other spoils. The pitifull noyse being heard into the Citie, the Citizens were astoined, and knew not what to doe; fearing the like mischance that they had scene and fealt the day before, and also wondered, that at such an houre not accustomed, the Spaniards were so nigh. The next day following, being S. James his euen, Cortez entred againe into the Citie, according as he had done before, and wanne the strate of Tlacopan, where he burned the riche and faire houses of

A cruell fact
of Cortes.

the vvest India.

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of king Quahutimoc, which were motted rounde about: so that now of foure parts of the citie, thre parts were won, and the Spaniards might safely passe from Cortes his Campe, to the Campe of Aluarado, by reason that all the houses were burned, and beaten downe plaine with the ground.

But yet the poze Mexicans would say to the Indians of Tlaxcallan, goe to, goe to, make hast, burne and destroy these houses, for time will come that ye shall build them againe at your owne cost. For if we haue victorie, then shall ye build them for vs, and if we be overcome, then shall ye build them for these straungers.

A true prophetic.

Within foure dayes after, Cortes entred the Citie againe, and also Aluarado on his side, who to shew his hauitie stomack, laboured all that was possible to get two Towers of the Temple of Tlatelulco, the which at the length he wan, although he lost thre horses in the combat.

The next day following, the horsemen walked vp and downe in the greate Market place at pleasure, the poze Mexicans beholding that so rotosul sight frō their houses. And as the Spaniards went walking in the Citie, they founde heapes of dead bodies in the houses, streets, and in the water: they found also the barke of trees and rootes gnawen by the hungrie creatures, and the men so leane and yellow, that it was a pitifull sight to beholde. Cortes yet againe required them to yelde, and they although they were so leane of bodie, yet restiong in heart, and assured that he should not speake of any friendshippe, nor yet hope of their spoyle, for when no fortune would fauour them, then they would either burne their treasures, or throwe it into the lake, where they should neuer passe to thereby, and that they would fight to bils one alone should remaine alive. At Cortes his next entry into the Citie, he founde the streets full of women, children, olde

An extreame penurie.

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folke, and many miserable sicke persons which were perishing for want of foode.

Cortes commanded that none of his army shoulde doe any hurt vnto such miserable creatures. The principall folke who were whole and sound, they stode in their Zooties on house tops, without weapon, and clothed in mantels. It was thought that they kept a certaine holy day, peace was againe offered, but they answered with dissimulation. The next day following Cortes required Alvarado on his side to combat a stréte of 1000. houses that was not yet won, and that he would do the like on the other side: for a little space the Citizens defended themselves, but their defence endured not, but were obliged to flie, being not able to resist the force of their contraries. So that the Spanish armie wanne also that stréte, and slew 12000. Citizens, the murder was so great because the Indian friends would shew no mercy or compassion vpon them, although they were required to the contrary. So that now the Mexicans hauing lost this stréte also, the houses that were not beaten down could scarcely hold the people that were alieue, the strétes also being so full of dead carcases and sicke bodies, that our men could not passe, but must needs tread vpon them. Cortes desirous to see what remained of the Citie to win, went by into a high tower, and hauing well viewed the Citie, he iudged that of eight parts one remained yet to win. And the next day following he assaulted the same, with speciall commendement giuen to his army, not to kill any but one, such as shoulde resist.

The sorrowfull Citizens bewailing their unfortunate fate and destiny, besought the Spaniards to make an end, and to kill them all out of pitié. When certaine of the hostmen called Cortes in great hast, who went vnto them incontinent, hoping of some agreement of peace: and standing at the brimme of the water nere vnto a dyke,

byzoge, the Mexican said, Oh Captaine Cortes, considering that thou art the child of the Sun, why doest thou not entreate the Sunne thy father, to make an ende of vs: oh thou Sunne that canst go round about the world in a day and a night, we pray thee make an end of vs, and take vs out of this miserable life, for we desire death to go and rest with our God Quetzauatl who tarieth for vs. After these speeches they made a lamentable crie, calling vpon their Goddes with loude voyces. Cortes answered what he thought god, but yet could not perswade them to yelde, truly it was a pitifull sight to behold.

A sorrowfull tale.

The imprisonment of Quahutemoc.

Cortes seeing the great extremitie that those poore wretched people were in, thinking noles that they would yelde vnto him, there vpon he spake to an vncle of Don Hernando de Tezcucoc, who was taken prisoner thre dayes befoze, whom he desired to goe to the king, and treat of peace: this Gentleman refused the message, knowing the determinate will of Quahutemoc, but through much entreatie he granted to his request. So the next day following Cortes entered into the Citie, and sent that Gentleman, and certayne Spaniards befoze him. The Indian garde of that stræte receiued him with the honoz which vnto such a noble man did appertain. He proceeded forthward toward the king, & being come where he was, he declared vnto him his embassage. When Quahutemoc had heard his tale, he was so moued with ire and choler, that forthwith he commanded him to be sacrificed, and gaue the Spaniards for their aunswere blowes with stoness, stauess and arrowes, saying also that they desired death, and no peace, and fought so stoutly that day, that they slue many of our men, and one horse. Likewise on their side many were slaine.

An euill reward.

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The next day Cortes entred the Citie againe, but hee fought not, hoping then that they would submitte themselves, but yet the Citizens had no such thought. He came neere vnto a certaine bulwarke on horse backe, and spake vnto certaine Gentlemen with whome he was acquainted, saying, that now within a short space he could make an ende of their small destruction, but yet of more compassion he wished it not, for the lone which he bare vnto them, so that they would in time render themselves: wherefore (quoth he) entreat ye the king to doe the same, and in so doing ye shall be well rewarded, and haue vittalles sufficient. The Gentlemen hearing these words, fell on weeping, and answered, that now they knew well their error, and felt their losse and destruction, notwithstanding they were bound to obey their king and Gods. But yet (quoth they) abide a while, and we will certifie Quahutimoc what you haue said, & in short space they went and returned againe, saying that the next day without faile their Lord would come and talke with him in the market place. With this answer Cortes returned to his campe, and thought at their meeting to conclude an honourable peace. So against the next day he caused a Canapie and chaire of estate to be set in the market place, according to the Mexican vse, and also a dinner to be prepared. The day following came Cortes at the houre appointed, with many of his men armed, but the king came not: nevertheless he sent five noble men to treat of the matter, excusing the king, saying he was not well at ease. Cortes welcomed those Gentlemen, and was glad of their coming, hoping thereby to conclude and make some good ende. And when they had dined and well refreshed their hungry bodies, Cortes gaue them vittuals, and desired them to returne againe to to the king, and to declare vnto him that without his presence the conclusion could not bee certaine.

certaine. They went and returned againe within ftwo houres, and brought vnto Cortes certaine matels made of cotten woll, very good & well wrought, with answer that the king would not come in any wise, both for shame and feare. And the next day these messengers came again, saying that the king would come to the place appointed. But yet he came not, although Cortes attended his coming more then foure houres, who seeing the mockery, he forthwith sente Sandoval with his Wergantines one way, and he himselfe went another, combatting the houses & forttes that yet remained, where he founde small resistance, so that he might doe what he pleased. There was that day slaine and taken prisoners, above, 40000. persons, and then he retired to his campe. The lamentable crie and mourning of the women and childzen would haue made a stony hart relent, the stench also of the dead bodies was wonderfull noisome. That night Cortes purposed to make an end the next day of the wars, and Quahutimoc pretended to flie, and for that purpose had imbarqued himselfe in a Canoa of twentie oars. When the day appeared, Cortes with his men, and foure peeces of ordinance, came to the corner where those that yet remained were shut vp, as cattell in a pounde. He gaue order to Sandoval and Alvarado what they should do, which was, to be ready with their Wergantines, and to watche the coming out of the Canoas which were hidden betwixt certaine houses, and especially to haue regard vnto the kings person, and not to hurte him, but to take him alive. He commaunded the residue of his men to force the Mexican boates to goe out, and he himselfe went vp into a Tower, enquiring for the king, and there founde Xihuacoa, gouernour and Captaine generall of the Citie, who would be in no wise yeelde himselfe. When came out of the Citie a greate multitude of olde folkes, men, women and childzen, to take boate. The tydōg

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was so great with hast to enter the Canoa, that many by that meanes were drowned in the lake. Cortes required his men not to kill those miserable creatures: But yet he could not stay the Indians his friends, who slue & sacrificed aboue fiftene thousand. After this, there was a great rumour among the common people, that the king would slie, making a piteous mone, and saying that they sorrowfull creatures knew not whither to go: But yet procuring to go into the Canoa, which were so full that there was no room for them, by reason thereof many were drowned.

The men of warre stood in the house toppes and jetties beholding their perdition. All the nobilitie of Mexico were embarked with the King. When Cortes gave signe with the shot of a handgun, that his Captaines should be in a readinesse, so that in short space they wanne fully and wholly the great citie of Mexico. The Merfantines likewise brake in among the fleets of boates, without any resistance, and every one sought where he might best succor himselfe, the Royall Standart was beaten downe. Garcia Holguin, who was Captaine of a Merfantine, had espied a great Canoa of twenty oars deepe, laden with men. And one of his prisoners saide unto him, that the king went in that great Canoa. Holguin being glad of the newes, gave chase to that Canoa and overtake him. In his foreship he had three Crossebow men. And when Quahutimoc who stood on the puppe of the Canoa ready to fight, sawe those boltes ready bent, and many drawn swordes, he yielded himselfe, declaring that he was the king. Garcia Holguin being a glad man of his prisoner, took and carried him unto Cortes, who receiued him reuerently. When Quahutimoc came neare unto him, he laide his hand vpon Cortes his dagger, saying, I haue done all my possibilitie to defend me and mine, according to my dutie, hoping not to haue come to this estate & place where now I stand: And considering

considering that you may do with me what you please, I beseech you to kill me, and that is my only request. Cortes comforted him with faire words, giuing him hope of life and senioy, and toke him vp into a zotie, requiring him to commaund his subjects to yeld and render themselues: he obeyed his request. At that time there was about thre score and ten thousand persons, who in seeing their Prince, threw downe their weapons, and submitted themselues.

The taking of Mexico.

In the order before declared, Iuanne Hernando Cortez the famous Citie of Mexico, on Tuesday being the thirteene of August, An. 1521. in remembrance whereof, and of the great victoꝝ, euery yeare on that day they make a sumptuous feast and solemn procession, wherein is carried the Standart royall, with the which the Citie was wonne. The siege endured thre moneths, and had therein 200000. Indians, 900. Spaniards, 80. hoyses, 17. paces of Ordnance, 13. Bergantines, and 6000. Canaos. In this siege were slaine fiftie Spaniards and sixe hoyses, and no great number of the Indians their friends. There was slaine on the contrary side a hundredeth thousand, and some affirme many moe: but I speak not of them that died with hunger and pestilence.

At the defence of the citie were all the nobilitie, by reason whereof many were slaine. The multitude of people was great, who ate litle, dranke salt water, and slept among the dead bodies, where was a horrible stench: for these causes the disease of pestilence fell among them, and thereof died an infinite number. Wherevpon is to be considered, their desperate determination, for although they were afflicted with such hunger, that they were driven to eat boughes, cyndes of trees, and to drinke salt water,

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water, yet would they not yelde themselves. But at the laste they would haue submitted them; and then their king Quahutimoc would not, because at the beginning they refused his will and counsell, and also with their generall deaths, should appeare no cowardise, for they kept the dead bodies in their houses to keepe that secrete from theyr enimies. Here also is to be noted, that although the Mexicans eate mans flesh, yet they eate none of their owne Titie or friendes, as some doe thinke: for if they had, there would not so many haue died with hunger. The Mexican woman were highly commended, not only because they abode with their husbandes and Fathers, but also for the greates paines they toke with the sick and wounded persons, yea and also they laboured in making slings, cutting stones fitte for the same, and throwing stones from the yoties, for therein they did as much hurte as their men. The Titie was yeldd to the spoile; and the Spaniards toke the Golde, Plate and Jewels, the Indian friends had all the rest of cloth and other stuffe.

Cortes commaunded great bonfires to be made in token of victorie, and also to mortifie the horrible stench of the dead bodies, whome he likewise commaunded to be buried, and some of the prisoners menne and women he caused to be marked in the face, for the Kings Names, and pardoned all the residue. He commaunded the Arguines to be brought a horse, and appointed one Villa Fuerte, with 80. men to guard the, fearing least the Mexicans should by fire or other wise destroy them. In this businesse he occupied himself foure daies, & then remoned his camp to Culhuacan, where he rendred hartie thanks to all the Gentlemen his friendes, promising to gratifie their good and faithfull service, bearing them to departe home to their houses, considering the warre was at an ende, whereupon

to her pou they departed almost all in generall, both rich and socond with the spoile of Mexico; and also to remaine in the fauour and grace of Cortez.

Maruellous signes and tokens of the destruction
of Mexico.



Of long before Hernado Cortes came vnto the new Spaine, bid many nights after the midnight appeare in the air, and in the same port and place where Cortes entered into that land, great lightning of fire, which amounted by ward, and suddenly vaded away. The Mexicans at that time sawe flames of fire toward the Dyent, where now Vera Cruz standeth, with a great and thicke smoke, that seemed to touch the heauen and earth: this sight was fearefull vnto them.

They also sawe the figures of armed men fight in the air one with another, a new and strange sight for them, and a thing that filled their heads with imaginations; so when there was a prophetic spoken of among them, howe that white men with beards should come and rule their kingdom in the time of Mutezuma, the Lords of Teczucuo and Tlacopan were much amazed, saying, that y sword which Mutezuma had, was the armes of those folke, whose figures they had seene in the aire, with their apparell and attyre. Mutezuma had much ado to pacifie them, saying that the weapon and apparell was of his forefathers, and because they should see the trophy thereof, he gaue them the sword, and willed them to bzeake it if they could, and they prouing to bzeake the same, and could not, they maruelled thereat, and also were resolved of their opinions.

It should come that a little before these things hap-

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pened, some of Mutezuma his subjects found a Chest of apparell, and a sword in it on the sea coast, which came floating out of some shippe that had voyaged there about, and brought it to their prince. Others affirme, that the cause of alteration among the Noble men, was, when they saw the sword and apparell that Cortes had sent vnto Mutezuma by Teudilli, seeing it a thing so like the attire of the figures which they had seen in the ayre, but holisacuer it was, they beleued with some new tokens, that their kingdom should haue an end, when they sawe those strangers come into their countrey.

The same yeare that Cortes came into Mexico, appeared a vision vnto a certaine Malli, which is to say, a slave taken in the warres to be sacrificed, who at the time of his death and sacrifice, bewailed his sorrowfull end, calling vpon the God of heauen, who at that instant saw in spirit a vision, and heard a voyce, bidding him not to feare that death, for the God whom hee called vpon would haue mercie vpon him, willing him also to say vnto the priests and ministers of the Idolles, that their wicked sacrifice and bloudshedding was nere at an ende, and that there was a people at hand, that should take away all that wicked and abhorrible religion.

This Malli was sacrificed in the middell of the market place of Tlatchulco, where at this day is the place of execution.

They remembred, & noted well the words of the Malli, and the vision which they called a breath from heauen,

The earth also brake open, out of the which issued a marvellous great streame of water, with manie great fishes, which they bled and helde for a strange prognostication.

The Mexicans did report, that when on a time Mutezuma came triumphantly with victorie of Xochimilco, said

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said vnto the Lord of Culhuacan: Now (quoth he) Mexico is strong & inuincible, for I haue in subiection Xochimilco, and other prouinces, so that now I am without feare of any enemye. The Lord of Culhuacan answered, saying, trust not god king too much, for one force forceth another, with the which answer, Mutezumas was not a little offended. But when Cortes had taken them both prisoners, then he called to remembrance the former talk, and held that saying for a prophesie.

The building vp againe of Mexico.



Cortes pretended to reedifie againe the Citie of Mexico, not onely for the situation and maiestie, but also for the name and great fame thereof, and also to build vp that which hee had beaten downe, by reason whereof he trauelled to make this Citie greater, better, and to bee the more replenished

with people. He named and appoynted Judges, Aldermen, Attourneys, Towne clearkes, Notaries, Sea- uengers, and Sergeants, with all other officers, necessarie for the common weale of a Citie. Hee diuided the Citie among the Conquerors, hauing first taken out places for Churches, market places, Towne house, and other necessarie plottes to build houses, profitable for the common weale. He also separated the dwellings of the Spaniards from the Indians, so that the water passeth and maketh diuision betwixt them. He procured many Indians to come to the building of the Citie, for any thing charges, although therein he had somewhat to do, by reason that many kindred of Quahntimoc were not as yet come vnder obedience.

He

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He made Lord of Tezcuco, Don Carolus Iztlixuchitl, by the consent of the citie, in place of Don Hernando his brother, who was deceased, and commaunded manie of his vassals to labour in the woyses, because they were Carpenters, masons, and builders of houses. He promised also to them that were naturals of the Citie of Mexico, plottes to build vpon inheritance, freedome, and other liberties, and the like vnto all those that would come and inhabite there, which was a meane to allure manie thither. He set also at libertie Xihuaco the generall Captaine, and made him chiefe over the Indians in the Citie, vnto whome he gaue a whole stréte. He gaue likewise another stréte to Don Pedro Mutezuma, who was son to Mutezuma the king. All this was done to winne the fauour of the people. He made other Gentlemen Señors of little Ilands, and strétes to build vpon, and to inhabite, and in this order the whole situation was repaired, and the worke began with great ioy and diligence: But when the same was blowne abroade, that Mexico should be built againe, it was a wonder to see the people that resorted thither, hearing of libertie and freedome, the number was so great, that in a whole league compasse was nothing but people both men and women. They laboured sore, and ate little, by reason wherof, many sickned, and pestilence followed: wherof dyed an infinite number. Their paines was great, for they bare on their backs, and vze w after them, stones, earth, timber, lime, brick, and all other things necessarie in this sort, and by little and little, Mexico was built againe with a hundred thousand houses, moze stronger and better then the olde building was. The Spaniards also built their houses after the Spanishe fashion. Cortes built his house vpon the plosse where Mutezuma his house stode, which renteth now yearely foure thousand duckets a yeare. Pamfilo de Naruac

Namiez accused him for the same, saying, that he had spoiled the woodes and mountaines, and spenteth thousand beames of Cedar trees in the tooke of his ston house. The number seemeth more here then there, for where all the Mountaines are replenished with Cedar trees, it is a small matter. There are Cardines in Texcucuo, that haue a thousand Cedar trees for walles and circuite, yea and there are Cedar trees of a hundred & twenty fote long, and twelue fote in compasse from ende to ende. They built faire dockes covered ouer with arches for the Bergantines, whereas for a perpetuall meeting at sea the thirtene Bergantines do remaine vntill this day. They dammed by the strates of water, where now faire houses stand, so that Mexico is not as it then was to be, yea and since the yere of 1524. the lake decreaseth, and sometime casteth out a vapour of stench, but otherwile it is a wholesome and temperate dwelling, by reason of the Mountaines that standeth round about it, and well provided through the fertillitie of the Countrey, and comoditie of lake, so that now is Mexico one of the greatest Cities in the world, and the most noble in all India, as well in armes as policie. There are at the least two thousande Citizens, that haue each of them his house in his stalle, with riche furniture for them. There is also great contrattation, and all sortes of occupations. Also a money house, where money is daily coyned: a sayze schoule, which the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendosa caused to be made. There is a greate difference betwixte an inhabitant of Mexico, and a Conqueror, for a Conqueror is a name of honor, and hath landes and rentes, and the inhabitant or onely dweller, payeth rente for his house. When this Citie was a building, and not thoroughly furnished, Cortez came from Culhuacan to dwell there. The same of Cortez was made of Mexico, and blown

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the new discovered provinces, by meanes whereof, it is now
farre plentifulled, as I haue before declared, yea and hath so
many Spaniards, who haue conquered aboue 400. leagues
of land, being all gouerned by the princely seat of Mexico,

How the Emperour sent to take account of Cortes of
his gouernment in the new Spaine,



In these daies Cortes was the man of
the greatest name of all the Spanish
nation, although many had defamed
him, & especially Pamfilo de Naruaez,
who was in the Court of Spaine accus-
ing him. And to here of long time the
Councell of India had receiued no let-
ters from him, they suspected, yea and
beloued; what founer still was spoken of him. Whereby
on they provided the Admirall Don Diego Colon, for go-
uernour of Mexico, who at that time went to laue with
the king, pretending the said office and many others, with
condition to carrie at his owne cost a thousand men to ap-
prehend Cortes. They provided also for Gouernors of Pa-
nuco, one Nonio de Gulman, and Simon de Alcazaua por-
tingall, for gouernour of Honduras. A kinde moze this
witschiefe, and to set this busines forthward, one John de Ri-
bera, the Attourney of Cortes, was a fitte and an earnest
instrument against his maister, and the cause was, for
falling out with Martin Cortes, father unto Hernando
Cortes, about foure thousand Duchets which Cortes had
sent by him to his father, which money the said Ribera his
Attourney kept to his owne vse, and therefore raised ma-
ny banders against his maister, yea and credit was giuen
to his tales, but on a night he had a morsell of bacon gi-
uen him by a knaue, where with he was choked in
the

The reward
of a knaue.

the chiefe time of his businesse. These netes officers, and their provisions, were not so secretly obteyned, but the matter was so secretly talked in the Court, which at that time was abiding in the Citty of Toledo, and the proceedings seeme not iust unto the friends of Cortes. The Comendator Pedro de Pina, opened the matter to the Licenciat Nouez, and unto father Melgareto, whereupon they reclaimed of the Countreys determination, beseeching them to stay for a season, to see what newes should come from Mexico. Also the Duke of Bejar tendered the cause of Hernando Cortes, for that Cortes by promise of faith and troth was assured in marriage to his brothers daughter, named the Lanie Jane de Zuniga, who appealed the Emperour his anger, and the said Duke became suretie to answer all causes for him.

The matter standing in this estate, there arrived in Spaine, Diego de Zoro, with a whole Collier in maner of silver, & 70000. castlins in gold, the newes whereof was blowane over all Spaine. And to say the troth, this present was the cause that Cortes was not put out of his office; but a Judge of resolucion was sent thither to take an account of him. Soth a wise and learned man was sought for that purpose, yea such a one as could rule the matter, for some soldiers are oftentimes unmanerly: whereupon they thought the Licenciat, Lewes Poncede Leon, a fitt man, who had bin Lieutenant to Don Martine de Cordova, Earle of Alcaudera, an ablest gouernour of the Citty of Toledo. This Licenciat with power sufficient, was sent unto the new Spaine, who carried in his company an assistant, the batchler Marcus de Aguilar, who had ruled in time past, in a worshipfull office of Justice in the Hands of Santo Domingo.

With prosperous weather they departed from Spaine, and in shorte time arrived at Vera Cruz,

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Cortez having newes of their arrivall by fote postes within two dayes. And upon Epifommer day came letre from Cortes from the Licenciado Ponce, with another letter from the Emperour, where by he understode the cause of their coming. He returned backe incontinent an answer; and desired to knowe which way he would come to Mexico, either by the way inhabited, or else the other way which is newer. The Licenciado replied, that he would be for a while abode in Vera Cruz, to refresh himselfe, bearing feaſt the, and a man y had not heretofore at any time passed the seas, thinking that Cortes meante to have done in ſhorte on certain offenders, yea & also to have taken him by the way: whereupon he suspected, that Cortes had sent, because he would knowe: which way he meante to come, whereupon he secretly toke post horse, with certaine Gentlemen, and other religious persons that came in his company, & passed through the Colonies, although it was the further way, and more ſafe haile, that in five dayes he came to Iztacpallapam, receiving the entertainment and provision of meate and lodging that Cortez had prepared by his Gentlemen, that wait both the waies to meete him. At Iztacpallapam they received him with great feaſt and merriment, but after dinner, the Licenciado fell a bowting, and the most of his companye, and after the banquet, they fell into a ſleepe. They thought that certaine hearbes was the cause thereof, which were in a dish of oranges. The Licenciado was somewhat grieved of the sickness, and toke the dish, and offered it to father Thomas Ortiz, no (quoth the ſherwarde) his reverence shall have another dish, no (quoth father Ortiz) I will none of these, nor yet of any other, of whiche wordes there were afterwardees verses made, suspecting ſome thing of the sickness: but truly there was no hurte, as also euill thing putte in them, (as hereafter shall

shall be declared) for the Comendador, Procano, who was then chiefe Sheriffe, did eate of all those dishes, yea in the same dish that the Licenciat eate of, who neither vomited nor yet receiued any hurt or alteration. But I thinke, that they comming hote, weary and hungry, did eate too much, and ozanke also colde water, whereby their stomackes remolsted, and thereof followed the fluxe with vomit. On the behalfe of Cortes, there was presented to the Licenciat a rich present, but he refused it.

Cortes with all the flower of Gentlemen in Mexico, came to receiue him, and giuing him the right hand, they went together untill they came to Saint Frances Abbey, where after their praises made, Cortes demanded to see the things provisions, who answered, that the next day he would shew them unto him: then they accompanied him to his house, where he was well lodged.

The next day following, all the magistrates of the Citie met the Licenciat in the Cathedrall Church, and by acte, before the Botary, he presented his authoritie from the Emperour. He toke the Wares of Justice from the Judges and Sargeants, and incontinent restozed them againe, and saide with gentle speech, this rodde of the Senio: Governour, I will haue for my selfe. Cortes with all the other Magistrates, kissed the Emperours letters, and put them vpon the crown of their heads, in token of great obedience, saying, that they would obserue and obey all that was therein contained, as the commaundement of their King and Lord, requiring the same to be set downe by act and testimony.

After these things done, they proclaimed the residence and account of iustice, of Hernando Cortez, to the intent that all persons who could accuse him of any vnrighthfull dealing, should come & make their complaint, and to haue remedy for the same. Where should you then see the stirre

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and talke among them, euery officer fearing his owne
cause, with desire to see the ende of their businesse.

The death of the Licenciat Luys
Ponce.



The Licenciat comming one day from Saine
Frances abbay from seruice, fell into an ex-
treme burning feuer, and lay him downe
in his bedde, where he remained the space
of thre dayes, as a man out of his wittes,
and the feuer stil encreasing, so that on the
seuenth day he yielded vp the ghost. In the time of his
sicknesse he receiued the communion, and made his last
will & testament. He left for substitute in his office, the ba-
cheler Marcus de Aguilar. Cortes made as great sorrow
for his death, as if he had bene his owne father, his fune-
ralls were celebrated with great pompe.

The enemies of Cortes published, that he died of poison.
But the Licenciat Pero Lopez, and Doctor Hoieda, who
were his Whistions, swoze that he died of a burning fe-
uer, and shewed a further consequence, that the euening
before he deceased, he desired them to play the measures
vpon a lute, and as he lay in his bedde, shewed with stir-
ring his fete the compasses and pointes of the daunce.
It was a thing which diuers persons saw, and forthwith
he lost his speeche, and that night toward the dawning
of the day he yielded vp his spirite. I thinke that fewe men
do die dauncing, as this Latouer did. The number of a hun-
dred persons came out of Spaine with the Licenciat,
whereof the moste parte died by sea and on the lande. It
was suspected to be a pestilence, for one of them infected
another. There were in his company many Gentlemen,
and ech of the had an office, There was a frier who was

A mado
daunce.

the vvest India.

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a very hauberous fellow, & repozted that Cortes had poisoned the Licenciat, and also that the Licenciat had an expresse order from the Emperour to cut of Cortes his head, as if he had take the Ware of Justice from him. The subtle Frier, had thought to haue gotten mony of the one, and thanks of the other, and at the ende had nothing.

How Cortez came into Spaine.



Here one Alonso de Estrada gouerned the state of Mexico, as substitute of Marcus de Aguillar, according to the Emperours commaundement, Cortes considered with himselfe that it was not possible for him to haue againe his office, except he wente personally to the Emperours court, where he had many aduersaries and few friends, so that he was afflicted on euery side: yet he in fine, determined to goe into Spaine, as well for business of importance of his owne, as also matters touching the Emperoz and his new kingdomes, whereof I will rehearse particularly some.

As touching his owne causes, first he being a man of good yeres, went to marry, hoping to haue children, vnto whom he might leane the profite of his labour and paine: also to appeare before the King his maister face to face, and to enforme his Maestie what Landes and Kingdomes he had wonne and brought vnto his royall crowne: To signifie likewise vnto him, of the dissention among the Spaignardes his subiectes in Mexico, and to answere for himselfe, to any false reportes which had bene made against him: And finally, to receiue a condisigne rewarde for his worthie and faithfull seruice. Cortez being in these imaginations, there was brought

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brought a letter vnto him, from the reuerend father Garcia de Loaisa, ghostly father vnto the Emperoz, and afterwards was ordeyned Cardinall, in the which letter he commited him earnestly to come vnto Spaine, to the intent that the Emperours Maiestie might both see & know him, assuring him of his friendship. After the receit of this letter, he made all the haste possible to depart vppon his iourney, ceasing from his voyage which he had in hand, for to inhabite the Riuer De las Palmas. Beseze his departure, he dispatched two hundred Spaniards, and three score and tenne Boysemen, with many Mexicans, for the countrey of Chichimeca, to inhabite there, finding the land riche of siluer Mines, as it was reported, giuing vnto those men expresse order, that if the people of that Province did not entertaine them with friendship, that then they shuld accept them as enemies, and forthwith to make warre, and to take them for slaves, for that they are a barbarous people. He wrote his letter to Vera Cruz, to prepare with all speede two good shippes, and for that purpose he sent Pero Ruiz de Esquivel, who was a Gentleman of Suiull: But hee went not on the iourney for a moneth after, they founde him buried in a little Ilande of the lake, with one hande out of the grane, which was eaten with dogges and foule: hee was buried in his doublet and his hose: he had one onely wound in his forehead: And a Negro, his slave, who went in his company, was neuer heard of, nor yet the Canoe and Indians that went with him, so that the truth of his death was neuer knowne.

Cortes made an Inuentary of his moveable goods, which was valued at two hundredeth thousande Castles of golde: he left for gouernour of his owne estate, the Alenciat Alcamirano his kinsman, with other two friends: hee furnished two shippes, and proclaimed free passage and victuals vnto all those that would go in his company:

he

he shipped for his owne account a thousand five hundred
markes of siluer, twentie thousand Castlins of good gold,
and ten thousand Castlins of base golde. He toke in his
company Gonçalo de Sadana, Andres de Tapia, and other
of the chiefest of the conquisours. He brought with him a
sonne of Mutezuma, & another sonne of Maxisca, who
was become a Christian, & named Don Lorenzo, with ma-
ny other Indian Gentlemen of Mexico, Tlaxcallan, and
other cities: eight players toith a cudgell, twelus tennis
players, with certayne men and women of that Countrey
who were white of colour, and other dwarfes and defor-
med persons. He brought also wild beasts, as Tigres and
other strange beasts called Aiochali, and one Tlaquaci.
Whomever he brought a great number of mantels made of
feathers and Compe hats, Targets, busches of feathers of
gallant feathers, and looking glasses of stone. In fine, he
came like a great Lord, and arrived in Spaine, in the end
of the yere 1518: the Court being then in Toledo. The
newes of his arrivall was blowne through out all Spaine,
and every one desirous to see him.

The honour which the Emperour shewed unto
Hernando Cortes, with rewarde.



He Emperour received Cortes mag-
nificially, and to give him the greater
honour, he went and visited him at his
owne lodging.

The Emperour being in a readines
to passe into Italie, to be ther crowned
with the Imperiall crowne, Cortes
went in his maiesties company unto
the Citie of Saragosa, whereas his maiestie calling to
remembrance his worthie service, and valour of his
person, made him Marques del Valle de Huaracac, at
A a a coiding

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according to his desire; on the .vi. of July, An. 1528. and
 Captaine generall of the newe Spaine, with all the pro-
 vince and coast of the south sea, chiefe discoverer and in-
 habiter of the same coaste and Ilandes, with the twelfth
 parte of all that after that time should be discovered, for
 a sure inhabitation to him and his descendentes: he offered
 vnto him also the habite of the order of Knighthode of
 Saint Iames, the which offer Cortes refused, because there
 was no rent given with the habite, but he besought his
 Maestie to graunt vnto him the government of Mexico,
 the which request the Emperour denied, because that no
 Conquerour should thinke that the office of government
 and iustice is due vnto him; for the like demand was de-
 sired of the king Don Fernando, by Cristoual Colon, who
 first discovered the Indian, and also the great Captaine
 Gonfalo Hernandez de Cordoba, who conquered Naples.
 Cortes deserved much, and also the Emperour gave him
 much, to honour him as a most honourfull and gratefull
 King, who neuer taketh away that which once he giveth.
 He likewise gave vnto Cortes all the kingdome of Me-
 huacan, but he had rather haue had diuers other townes
 which he demanded, many other great fauours and re-
 wards he receiued at the Emperours hands, but the prin-
 cipall are those before declared.

The Marriage of Cortes.



When it was known in Spaine, that the
 lady Katherin Xueres, wife vnto Cortes,
 was detained in India, by interceiours he
 was assured vnto the Duke of Beiar, his
 brothers daughter, who was named the
 lady Iane of Zuniga: her fathers name was
 Dō Carolus de Arrellano, earl of Aguijar. This lady was

a bewtiful Dame, and her brethren noble personages, who were highly in favour with the Emperour. And Cortes to match with so honorable an house and lineage he iudged himselfe fortunate and well married.

Among many Jewels which Cortes brought with him, were five most riche and fine Emeraldes, which were valued at a hundred thousande Duckets: the one was wrought like unto a Rose, another like a Cornet, an other like a fishe with the eyes of Golde, which was a marvellous peece of worke being wrought among Indians: an other peece was wrought like unto a bell, with a great and riche pearle for the clapper, garnished with golde, ingrauen about with letters, which saide, Blessed is he that created thee. The fifth was made like a cuppe with the side of gold, and had foure little chaines of gold, that were ioined all at the top together, in a great pearle, and the bylme of this cuppe was of gold, with this verse ingrauen round about, Inter natos mulierum non surrexis maior. For this onely peece the Marchantes of Geneva did offer fourtie thousand Duccats, for to sel the same again to the great Turke. But at that time Cortes would not giue it for any money. Although afterwards he lost them all in the warres of Argel, being there with the Emperour. It was told Cortes that the Emperesse desired to haue those peeces, meaning to requaunt them of him, and that the Emperour shoulde pay for the same, for which cause he sent them to the Lady his new wife, with many other Jewelles before he came at the Court, and there, when he was enquired for them, he answered, and excused himselfe, for then certainly he gaue such Jewels unto his Epouse, that the like neuer Lady had in Spaine. And after he was married to the Lady Isenot Zuniga, he departed with her to the new Spaine, with title of Marques.

The riche
Emeraldes.

Aaa

How

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How the Chancery was first placed in Mexico,
and certaine diuelish pretences wrought

against Cortes.



Before Cortes his coming into Spaine, Pansilo de Narvaez his old enemy, went vp and downe in the Court, procuring the conquest of the riner De Palmas and Florida, where at the last he died, and alwaies when he saw time convenient, he made complaints against Cortez, yea and to the Emperours of one hande he deliuered a scrole of many articles, among the which was one, wherein he affirmed that Cortez had as many barres of golde and silver, as in Biscay were barres of yron, and offered to proue the same but although it was not true, yet it was suspicious. He also earnestly procured that he should be punished, saying that he had plucked out one of his eyes, and killed with poise the Licentiat Luis ponce de Leon, and Francisco Garay. Through his many and importunate petitions, it was determined to send to Mexico, Don Pedro de la Cueva, who was both scribe and sener, and Lord steward of the Emperours house, and afterwards made generall of the ordinance, and chiefe Governador of the order and knightly band of Alcantara, who finding the accusation true, should cut off Cortez his head and carry it into Mexico. But as Columbus in the same Ceuas came the testimoniall from the Doctor Huidada, and the Licentiat Pero Lopez petition, who had cured the persons that were reported to haue beene poisoned by him upon that commission made. And when Cortez came into Spaine, Don Pedro de la Cueva would haue put him to death and left with him, saying, Hee to haue placed long lies.

The Emperour and his counsell of India, prouided a Court

the vvest India.

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Court of Chancerie in Mexico, as chiefe place, where as all contronerfies and matters of right throughout the new Spaine, might there bee determined, and also to correct the mutinies, and partes taken among the Spaniards: likewise to take ressoence and account of Cortez, and to bee satisfied both of his seruice and offences. Whereupon that they should visit the officers, and royall Treasorie there. Nunio de Gusman was appointed president and gouernour, with other foure Licenciates for Judges to accompanie him. He departed toward Mexico, Anno. 1529. and at his coming, he began to understand in his regiment and office, with the Licenciate Iohn Ortiz, for the other three Judges died by the way. Cortez being no more absent, and bypon his iourney toward Spaine, this newe Judge made a terrible residence and condemnation against him, and commanded all his goods to be sold by out-thrapple, for a great deale lesse then his goods were worth, and in his absence they called him by Proclamation: but if he had bene there present, his life had bene in danger, although face to face some respect is had, and it is an ordinarie rule that the Judge sheweth rigor against him that is absent. This hatred was not only against Cortez, but also against his friends, for he apprehended Pedro de Aluerado, who was newly come from Spaine, because he spake in the fauour of Cortez, laying to his charge the rebellion of Mexico, when Naruaez was there. He also apprehended Alonso de Estrada, and many others, being manifest wrongs vnto them.

Before the
Judges came,
Cortez was
gone to Spain.

In short space the Emperour had more complaints against Nunio de Gusman, and the other Judge, then had bene heretofore against any other, whereupon hee was put out of office in the yeare 1530. His wrongfull dealing in iustice, was not onely proued in Mexico, but also in the Court of Spaine, with many persons that were come

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from thence, so that the next President and Judges that went thither, did pronounce Nunio de Gusman and his fellows for partiall Judges, and enemies unto Cortes, and condemned him to pay all his goods whiche were euill sold. But when Nunio de Gusman vnderstand that he was put out of office, he then was afraid, and toke his iourney against the Teuchichimecas, seeking after the Towne of Culhuacan, from whence the Mexicans descended. He carried in his companie five hundred Spaniards, whereof the most were horsemen, and many of them went as prisoners, and against their willes.

In Mechuacan he toke prisoner the king Caconcin, who was a great friend vnto Cortes, a seruitor vnto the Spaniards, and bassall to the Emperour, and as the same goeth, he toke from him ten thousand markes of plate, and much golde, and afterward burned him, and many other Gentlemen, and principall persons of that kingdome, because they should not complaine, saying, that a dead dogge biteth not. He toke from thence five thousand Indians for the seruice of his armie, and with them conquered Xalisco, which is now called the newe Gallizia. He abode there, untill the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mondoza, and Chancerie of Mexico, caused him to be apprehended, who sent him prisoner into Spain, to giue account of his office. If Nunio de Gusman had bene so good a gouernour and Judge, as he was in bloud a Gentleman, he had then enjoyed the best plot of all the West India, but he behaued himselfe euill, both with the Indians and Spaniards.

The same yeare that he came from Mexico, went thither for president Sebastian Ramirez, who was a Bishop, and had in time past bene president in Santo Domingo, and the Licenciates Iohn de Salmeron, Gasco Quiroga, Francisco Ceynes, and Alonso Maldonado, for Judges to accompanie him.

These

These Judges gouerned well the land, and caused the Citie of Angels to be inhabited, which the Indians called Cuertlaxcoapan, that is to say, a Snake in water. The reason was, because they haue two fountaines, the one of euil water, and the other of good. This Citie standeth twentie leagues from Mexico, in the high way to Vera Crux. The Bishop set the Indians at libertie, and therefore many Spaniards departed from thence, who had inhabited there before, and went to seeke their liuing at Calixco, Hnduras, Quahucmallan, and other places where warre was.

The returne of Cortes to Mexico.

AT this season arriued Cortes at the rich Towne of Vera Crux, and when his comming was published, how he came with title of Marques, and had brought his wife with him, an infinite number of Indians came to visite him, and almost all the Spaniards of Mexico, so that in fewe dayes there came a thousande persons of his owne nation, who made their complaintes vnto him, how they were vndone, and that the Judges which had bene there, had destroyed both him & them, and asked his iudgement whether that nowe they might kill both them and theirs. Cortes hearing their obious request, reprehended them, and also gaue them hope shortly to relæue their necessitie with newes discoveries, and in this order fearing some mutinie, he held them in pleasure and pastime.

When the President heard how Cortes was visited of the Spaniards, they commaunded forthwith euery one of them should immediately returne to Mexido, or else where their dwelling places were vpon pain of death, yea, and they were about to apprehende Cortes for a stirrer of

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of 1530, and to sende him backe againe prisoner into Spaine. But when he sawe how sore these Judges were moued, he commaunded to proclaime himselfe openly in Vera Crux, Captaine Generall of all the dominions of the new Spaine, and there caused the Emperours letters patents to bee read, which thing being knowne to the Mexican Judges, it caused the to wryng their noses. After this diligence ended, he departed toward Mexico with a great company of Spaniards and Indians, among whom were a good company of horsemen: but when he came to Tezcuco, the President sent to commaund him not to enter into Mexico, vpon paine of losse of his goods, and his bodie to be at the kings pleasure.

Hee obeyed the commaundement with great wisdome, being a thing conuenient to the service of the Emperour, and profit of the land, which he had to doe with great toyle and labour: but yet he abode in Tezcuco with a greater maiestie and Court, then the President in Mexico, and wrote vnto him, that he should consider his gods will and whole intent, and not to giue occasion to the Indians to rebell, and for the Spaniards hee might assure himselfe.

The Indians vnderstanding the discorde betwixt the president and Cortes, drew as many Spaniards as they coulde get at aduantage, so that in fewe dayes there wanted not bene two hundred of the Spanishe nation, beingaine as well in towne, as in the high wayes, yea and also they had communed among themselves to rebell in order. But when the Bishop and the Judges heard this newes, they began to feare the matter, and considering that they had no better reinedy, nor other safe deuises, but only to name haloz, person and authoritie of Cortes, they sent to desire him to come vnto Mexico, where vpon hee obserued their commaundement and request, and went toward the Citie, well

well accompanied with men of warre, so that he shewed himselfe in estate a generall Captaine. All the Citizens came out to receive him and the lady Marques his wife: his entrie into the Citie was a day of great pleasure among them. The said President and Judges entred into counsell for to remedie the great hurt which had bin done by the Indians. Cortes toke the matter in hand, and apprehended many Indians, of whome some hee burned, others were tozned with dogges, he did such correction, that in short time all the Countrey was quiet, and the high waies without daunger, a thing worthy of great thanks.

The letters that the Indians used
in Mexico.

There hath not bene founde letters at any time in the West India, onely in the west Spaine were used certaine figures which served for letters, with the which they kept in memorie, and preserved their antiquities. The figures that the Mexicans used for letters are great, by reason whereof they occupie great volumes: they engrave them in stone or timber, and painte them upon walles, and also upon a paper made of cotton wool, and leaves of the tree Mecl. Their booke are great and folded by like into our booke leaues, and written upon both sides. There are some booke rolled, by like a peece of stannell. They pronounce not d, g, e, l. Therefore they use much p, s, l, o. This is the Spanish speech, and Nahual, which is the best, plainest, and the most eloquent, in all the Spaine. There are some in Mexico that do understand each other by whistling, which is ordinarily used among louers, and theues, a speech truly to wonder at, and none of our men could come to the knowledge thereof.

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The order how to reckon,

Ce	One
Ome	Two
Ei	Thre
Nani	Four
Macuil	Five
Chicoace	Six
Chicome	Seven
Chicuei	Eight
Chiconani	Nine
Matlac	Tenne
Matlactlioe	Eleuen
Matlactliome	Twelue
Matlactliomei	Thirtene
Matlactlinani	Fourtene
Matlactlinacui	Fiftene
Matlactlichicoace	Sixtene
Matlactlichicome	Seuentene
Matlactlichicuei	Eightene
Matlactlichiconani	Nineteene
Cempoalli	Twentie

Every number is simple untill you come to sixe, and then they count; sixe and one, sixe and two, sixe and thre. Ten is a number by himselfe, then you must count tenne and one, tenne and two, tenne and thre, tenne and four, tenne and five. Then you count, tenne, five, and sixe; tenne, five, and two, tenne, five, and thre. Twentie goeth by himselfe, and all the greater numbers.

The Mexican year.

The Mexican yeare is three hundredth firtie dayes, for they haue in their yeare eightene moneths, and euery moneth containeth fiventie dayes. They haue other fivie obde dayes, which goeth by themselves, in the which they bled to celebrate great feastes of cruell and bloudy sacrifice, with much deuotion. And reckoning after this sort, they could not chuse but erre, for they could not make equall the continuall course of the Sunne. For the Chyistian yeare is not perfitt, although the haue learned Astronomers, But yet these simple Indians went néer the marke.

The names of the moneths.

api	hol
Tlacaxipualiztli.	huic
Tozcuztli.	huic
Huei Tozcuztli.	huic
Toxcatl.	huic
Ecaleozitli.	huic
Tocailhuicintli.	huic
Hueitecuilhuitl	

Miccaihhuicintli.

Veymiccaihhuicintli.

Vchpaniztli.

Pachtli.

Huei Pachtli.

Quecholli.

Panquecaliztli.

Huemuztli.

Tititli.

Izcaltli.

Coa vicleuac

bbb 2

The

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The names of Dayes.

Cipactli	A Spade
Hecatl	Aire or Winde
Calli	A House
Cuezpalli	A Liart
Coatl	A Snake
Mizquintli	Death
Macatl	A wilde Hart
Tochtli	A Conny
Atl	Water
Izcuyntli	A Dogge
Ocumatli	An Ape
Malinalli	A Wyome
Acatl	A Canoe
Ocelotl	A Tigre
Coautli	An Eagle
Cozcaquahuitl	A Bufford
Olin	A Temple
Tepatl	A Knife
Quauitl	A Stone
Xuchitl	A Kite

Although these twentie names serue for the whole yeare, and are but the names of every moneth, yet therfore every moneth beginneth with Cipactli, which is the first name, but as they folloie in order, and the five odde dayes is the cause thereof. And also because their weeke is of thirteene dayes, which bringeth the names, as by example, Cecipactli can go no further then unto Macatlomeiacatl, which is thirteenth, and then beginneth an other weeke: and we do not say Macatlmeiacatl Ocelotl, which is the fourteenth day, but we say Coocelotl, which is one, and then reckon the other by names, unto twentie.

And

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And when all the twentie dayes are ended, begin againe to reckon from the first name of the twentie, but not from one, but from eight. And because ye may better vnderstand the matter, here is the example.

Cecipaſtli.
Omehecatl.
Ei Calli.
Nauí Cuezpali.
Macuilocuatl.
Chicoaca Mizquinh.
Chicome Macatl.
Chicuei Tochli.
Chiconauatl.
Matlaciz Cuñtli.
Mailactliocē Ocumatli.
Matlaſtliome Malinalli.
Matlaſtliomei Acatlh.

The next weeke following doth begin his dayes from one. And that one is the fourtéth name of the moneth and of the dayes, and ſaith :

Ceoteloſt.	Macuil Tecpatl.
Ometoautli.	Chicoacen Quiautl.
Eicozcaquahuēli.	Chicome Xuchitl.
Nauí Oſtli.	Chicotei Cipactli.

In this ſecond weeke, Cipactli came to fall on the eight day, being in the firſt weeke the firſt day.

Cematatl.
Ometochtli.
Eiatl.
Nauízcumtli.
Macuil Ocumatli.

Bbb 3

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And so procéde on to the thirde worke, in the which this name Cipactli entred not, but Macatl, which was the seuenth day in the first worke, and had no place in the second, and is the first in the third. This reckoning is no darker then ours, which we haue in a. b. c. d. e. f. g. For they also change with time, and run in such sort, that a. which was the first letter of this moneth, cometh to bee the first day of the next moneth, and the thirde moneth be counted to be the third day, and so orderly both the other five letters.

The accounting of yeares.

These Mexicans had another order to reckon their yeares, which exceeded not aboue foure in number, as one, two, three, foure, where with they account a hundred, five hundred, a thousand, and as many moe as they list. Those foure figures or names are, Tochli, Acatli, Tecpatli, Calli, and do signifie a Conny, a Cane, a Knife, and a House, saying.

Ce Tochli
Ome Acatli
Ei Tecpatli
Nauí Calli
Macuil Tochli
Chioacen Acatli
Cicome Tecpatli
Chicuei Calli
Chiconauí Tochli
Matlatli Acatli
Matlatliocce Tecpatli
Matlatliome Calli
Matlatliomei Tochli

One yeare
Two yeares
Three yeares
Foure yeares
Five yeares
Six yeares
Seven yeares
Eight yeares
Nine yeares
Ten yeares
Eleuen yeares
Twelue yeares
Thirtene yeares

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So that the reckoning passeth not aboue thirtene,
which is one Week of the yeare, and endeth where he
began.

Another Weeke.

Ce Acatlh	One yeare
Ome Tlepatlh	Two yeares
Ei Calli	Thre yeares
Nauí Tochtli	four yeares
Macuil Acatlh	five yeares
Chioacén Tecpatlh	six yeares
Chicome Calli	seven yeares
Chicuei Tochtli	eight yeares
Chiconauí Acatlh	nine yeares
Matlaçtli Tecpatlh	ten yeares
Matlaçtlioe Calli	eleuen yeares
Matlaçtliome Tochtli	twelue yeares
Matlaçtliomei Acatlh	thirtene yeares

The third week of yeares.

Ce Tecpatlh	One yeare
Ome Calli	Two yeares
Ei Tochtli	Thre yeares
Nauí Acatlh	four yeares
Macuil Tecpatlh	five yeares.
Chioacan Calli	six yeares
Chicome Tochtli	seven yeares
Chicuei Acatlh	eight yeares
Chiconauí Tecpatlh	nine yeares
Matlaçtli Calli	ten yeares
Matlaçtliome Tochtli	eleuen yeares
	Twelue

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Matlacliome Acatlh Twelve yeares
Matlacliomei Tecpatlh Thirteen yeares

The fourth Week.

Ce Calli	One yeare
Ome Tochli	Two yeares
Ei Acatlh	Three yeares
Naui Tecpatlh	Four yeares
Macuil Calli	Five yeares
Chioacn Tochli	Six yeares
Chicome Acatlh	Seven yeares
Chicuei Tecpatlh	Eight yeares
Chiconau Calli	Nine yeares
Matlacli Tochli	Ten yeares
Matlaclioe Acatlh	Eleven yeares
Matlacliomei Tecpatlh	Twelve yeares
Matlacliomei Calli	Thirteen yeares

Each of these weekes, which our men call Inditian, doth containe thirteene yeares, so that all the foure weekes make two and fiftie yeares, which is a perfite number in the reckoning, and is called the yeare of grace, for from fiftie two yeares, to fiftie two yeares, they vled to make solemne feasts, with straunge Ceremonies, as hereafter shall be declared. And when fiftie two yeares are ended, then they begin againe by the same order before declared, untill they come to as many mo, beginning at Ce Tochli, and so forward. But alwayes they begin at the Conny figure. So that in the forme of reckoning they keepe and haue in memorie things of 850. yeares, and by this Cronicle they know in what yeare euery thing bayned, and how long euery king reigned: howe many childzen they had, and all things else that importeth to the estate of the government of the land.

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The Indians beleueed that fīue ages were past,
which they called Sunnes.

The Indians of Colhua did beleue that the Gods had made the world, but they knew not how, yet they beleued that since the creation of the world foure Sunnes were past, and that the fifth and last is the Sunne that now giveth light to the world.

They helde opinion that the first Sunne perished by water, and at the same time all living creatures perished likewise.

The second Sunne (say they) fell from the heauens with whose fall all living creatures were slaine, and then (said they) were manye Giants in that Countrey, and certaine monstrous bones, which our men found in opening of graues, by proportion whereof, some should seeme to be men of twenty spannes high.

The third Sunne was consumed by fire, which burned day and night, so that then all living creatures were burned.

The fourth Sunne finished by tempest of ayre & winde, which blew downe houses, trees, yea and y^e mountaines and Rockes were blownen a sunder, but the linage of mankinde perished not, sauing that they were conuer-
ted into Apes. And touching the fifth Sunne, which now reigneth, they know not how it shall consume. But they say, that when the fourth Sunne perished, all the world fell into darkenesse, and so remained for the space of fīue and twenty yeares continually, and at the fīfteenth yeare of that fearefull darkenesse, the Gods did sende one man and woman, who brought forth childzen, and at the end of the other fīue yeares, appeared the Sunne whiche was newly bozne vpon the figure of the Conny day, and

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therefore they begin their account of yeares at that day, and reckoning from the yeare of our Lord 1552 their age of Sunne is 858. so that it appeareth that they haue liued many yeares their wyting in figures: and they had not onely this till from Cetoehli, which is the beginning of their yeare, moneth, and day, of their fifth Sunne, but also they had the same order and life in the other four Sunnes which were past: but they let many things slip out of memory, saying, that with the new Sunne, all other things should be likewise new. They held also opinion, that three dayes after this last Sunne appeared, all the Goddes did die, and that in proceesse of time the Gods which now they haue, and worship, were bozne. And through these false opinions, our Diuines did some conuert them to the knowledge of the true lawes of God.

The nation of the Indians called

Chichimecas.

In the land now called new Spaine, are diuers sundry generations of people: but they haue opinion, that the stock of most antiquitie, is the people now called Chichimecas, which proceeded out of the house of Aculhuacan, which standeth beyonde Xalisco, about the yeare of our Lord, 720. Many of this Generation did inhabit about the lake of Tenucheilan, but their names ended by mixture in marriage with other people. At that time they had no king, nor yet did builde either house or towne: their only dwelling was in caves in the mountains. They went naked, they sowed no kind of graine, nor used bread of any sort. They did maintaine themselves with rootes, hearbes, and bluester frutes: and being a people cunning in shooting with the bowe, they killed

led Deare, Hares, Conies, and other beastes and fowle, which they eate also, not sodden or roasted, but rawe, and dyed in the Sunne. They eate also Snakes, Lizards, and other filthy beastes, yea, and at this day there are some of this generation that vse the same diet. But although they liued such a bestiall life, and being a people so barbarous, yet in their diuelliish religion they were verie devout. They worshipped the Sunne, vnto inhom they vbled to offer Snakes, Lizards, and such other beastes. They likewise offered vnto their God all kinde of foule, from the degre of an Eagle, to a little Butterflie. They vbled not sacrifice of manlaughter, nor had any Idalles, nor so much as of the Sunne, whom they held for the sole and onely God. They married but with one women, and in no degre of kined. They were a stoute & a warlike people, by reason whereof they were Lords of the land.

The coronation of the kings of Mexico.

Although one brother was heyze to an other among the Mexicans, and after their deceasse, did inherite the Sonne of the eldest Brother, yet they toke no possession of the state or name of king, vntil they were anointed and crowned openly.

As soone as any king of Mexico deceased, and his funerals ended, then were called to Parliament the Lord of Tezucuo, and the lord of Tlacopan, who were the chiefe estates, and then in order all other noble men, who owed any seruice to the Mexican Empire. And being come together, if any doubt of the inheritance of the Crowne happened, then the quatter was decided with all haste: then the new king being knowne, he was stripped stark naked, except a cloath to couer his priue parts, and in this sorte was carried among them, to the great Temple

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of Virzilopuchli with great silence, and without any joy or pleasure: Two Gentlemen of the Citie whose office it was, ledde him vpp the staires of the Temple by the armes, and before him wente the Princes of Tezcucó and Tlacopan, who that day did weare their robes of Cozonation, whereupon was painted their armes and title. Aeris setow of the Battie wente vpon into the Chappels, but onely those that were appointed to attire the newe king, and to serue in other Ceremonies, for all the rest stood vpon the steeppes and belotwe, to beholde the Cozonation. These Magistrates beinge aboue in the Chappell, came with great humillitie and reuerence, kneeling downe vpon their knees before the Tholl of Virzilopuchli, and touched the earth with one finger and then kissed the same. Then came the high priest cloathed in his pontificall vestmentes, with many others in his company, who did weare surplises: and without speaking any word, they painted or coloured the Kings person, with ynke made for the purpose, as blacke as any cole. After this Ceremonie done, they blessed the annoiuted King, And sprinkled him foure times with a certaine holly water, that was made at the time of concecration of the God, made of dowe or paste, with a sprinkle made of boughes of Cane leaues, Cedar, and willow leaues. When they put vpon his head, a cloth painted with the bones and skulles of dead men, and next they clothed him with a black garment, and vpon that another blew, and both were painted with figures of dead mens skulles & bones. Then they put about his neck certaine laces, whereat did hang the armes of Crowne. And behind his backe they did hang certaine little bottels full of powders, by vertue wherof he was deliuered from pestilence and diseases, according to their opinion: yea & therby Witches, nor witchcrafts could not hurt him, nor yet euill thengs deceyue him. In fine, with

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with those reliques he was sure from all perill and danger. Upon his left arme they bound a little bagge of incense, and then brought unto him a chaffing dish of imbers made of the barke of an Oke tree. Then the king arose, and with his owne hande threw of the same incense into the chaffing dish, and with great reuerence brought the same to the God Virzilopucheli, and after he had smoked him therewith, he satte him downe, then came the high Priest, and toke his oath to maintaine the religion of the Goddes, to keepe also all the lawes and customes of his predecessours, to maintaine iustice, and not to aggrauate any of his vassals or subiects, and that he should be valiant in the warres, that he should cause the Sunne to giue his light, the cloudes to yelde raine, the riuers to runne, and the earth to bring forth all kinde of graine, fruites, and other needefull hearbs and trees. These and many other impossible things the new king did sweare to performe: and then he gaue thanks to the high priest, and commended himself to the Goddes, and to the lookers on, and they who brought him by in the same order, carried him downe againe. Then all the people cried, the Goddes preserve the new king, and that he may raigne many yeares in health with al his people. But then some began to dance, other to play on their instruments, the wiling outwardly their inward ioyes of heart. And before the king came to the fote of the Steppes, all the noble men came to yelde their obedience, and in token of louing and faithfull subiectes, they presented vnto him feathers, strings of snail shelles, Collers, and other Iewelles of golde and siluer, also mantles painted with death, & bare him company vnto a great hall within the compasse of the temple, and there left him. The king sitteth downe vnder his cloth of estate, called Tlacatecco, and in four daies departeth not out of the circuite of the temple, the which

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he spendes in prayers, sacrifice and penance, he eates then but once a day, and euery day he bathes himselfe, and againe in the night in a greate ponde of water, and then lettes himselfe blond in his eares, and senseth there with the gos of Water, called Tlaloc: he like wise senseth the other idols, unto whome he offereth bread, flowers, Papers, and little Canes, tied in the blood of his owne tongue, nose, handes, and other partes of his body. After the foure dayes expired, then come all the Noble men to beare him company to his pallaice, with greate triumph and pleasure of all the Cite, but after his consecration fews or none dare looke him in the face.

And now with the declaring of the actes and Ceremonies that the Mexican Kings are crowned, I shall not neede to rehearse of other kings, for generally they all do vse the same order, sauing that other Princes goe not vp to the toppe of the Temple, but abide at the foote of the Steppes to be crowned, and after their Cozonation they come to Mexico for their confirmation, and then at their returne to their countrey, they made many drunké feasts and banquetts.

The opinion of the Mexicans concerning the Soule.



The Mexicans did beléue that the Soule was immortall, and that they receiued either joy or paine according to their desertes & liuing in this worlde, vnto which opinion al their religion did attaine, and chiefly appeare at their burials. They helde for an assured faith, that there were nine places appointed for soules, & the chiefest place of glory to be nere vnto the Sunne, where the soules of those which were good

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god men slaine in the warres, and those which were sacrificed were placed, and that all other sortes of euill persons their soules abode on þe earth, and were deuided after this sorte, children that were dead bozne went to one place, those which died of age or other disease went to another, those which died of sudden death to another, those which died of woundes or contagious diseases went to an other place, those which were drowned went to another, those which were put to death for offence by order of Justice, as for robbery and adultery to another: Those which slew their fathers, mothers, wiues or children, to another place by themselves, also those who slew their maisters or any religious person went to another place. The common sorte of people were buried, but Lords and rich men had their bodies burned & their ashes buried. In their shreds they had a great difference, for many deade bodiees were buried better apparrelled then when they were on liue. Widowen were shewed after another sort. And he that suffered death for adultery, was shewed like vnto the God of lachery, called Tlazoultcutli, he that was drowned like vnto the God of water named Tlacoc, and he that died with drunkenesse was shewed like vnto the God of wine called Ometochtli. But the souldier had an honorable shewe like vnto the attyre of Virzilopuchtli, and the like order in all other sortes of deathes.

The buriall of Kings in Mexico.



When any King of Mexico happened to fall sicke, they used forthwith to put a visor vpon the face of Tezcatlipuca, or Virzilopuchtli, or some other Idoll, whiche visor was not taken awaye, vntill

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untill they sawe whether the king did amend, or else die : But if he chanced to die, then word was sent throughout all his dominions to bewaile his death, and also other postes were sent to call the noble men that were his nearest kinsmen, and to warne them within foure dayes to come vnto his buriall.

The dead bodie was laid vpon a faire matre, and was watched foure nights, with great lamentation and mourning: then the bodie was washed, and a locke of haire cut from the crowne of his head, which was preserved as a great relike, saying that therein remained the remembrance of his soule. This done, a fine Emerald was put in his mouth, and his bodie throwed in seuerall rich mantles, of colours, both rich and costly wrought. vpon the upper mantle was sette the deuise or armes of Vitzilopucheli or Tezcalipuca: or some other Idoll, in whome the king had great confidence in his life time, and in his temple should the body be buried. vpon his face they put a visor, paynted with foule and diuellish figures, beset with many Jewelles, precious stones, and pearles. When they killed his slave, whose office was to light the Lampes, and make fire vnto the Goddess of his Dalliance. These things done, they carried the dead bodie vnto the Temple: some followed him with dolefull tune, others sung the death of the king by note, so: so was the custome.

The Noble men and Gentlemen of his household carried Targets, Arrowes, Sables, and Ensignes to throwe into the fire where the body should be buried in the Temple. The high Priest and all the Clergie received him at the Temple gate, with a sorrowfull song, and after hee had saide certaine words, the bodie was throwne into a great fire made for the purpose, with all the Jewels that hee had about him, and all the other things which was brought

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brought to honour the buriall: also a dogge newly strangled with an Arrowe, which was to guide him his way. In the meane while that the King and dogge were burning, the Priestes sacrificed two hundred persons, howbeit in this Ceremonie there was no ordinary taxe, for sometimes they sacrificed many more: they were opened with a rasour of flinte in the breaſtes, and their hearts taken out and throwne into the fire where the Kings bodie was. These miserable persons being sacrificed, and their bodies throwne into a hole, they believed assuredly that those should serve for his sinnes in another world: some of them were Dwarffes, monstrous and deformed persons, with some women. They placed about the dead bodie of the King beſore his buriall, Roles, Floures, and sundry dishes of meate and drinke, and no creature durst touch the same, but onely the Priestes, for it seemed to be an offering.

The next day following, all the ashes were gathered together, and the teeth with the Emerald that was in his mouth, the which things were put into a chest, paynted on the inside with horrible figures of sinels, and the Locke of haire which was cut from his crowne, and another Locke of haire which was preserved from the time of his birth. When the chest was lockt, an image of wood made and cloathed like unto the Kings person, which was set on the toppe of the chest. The obsequies endured foure dayes, in the which the wives and daughters of the King offered great offerings at the place where his bodie was buried, and beſore the chest and his image.

On the fourth day after the buriall, fiftene slaves were sacrificed for his soule, and on the twentieth day, other five persons were also sacrificed, likewise on the fiftie thre, and fourescore, which was lyk unto the yeares minde.

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The order of buriall of the Kings of
Michuacan,

The kingdome of Michuacan is almoste as great as the Empire of Mexico, and when any king of that countrey happened to be visited with sicknesse, and brought to such extremitie, & hope of life were past, according to the opinion of Physicians, the would be namd and appoint which of his Sonnes shoulde inherite the estate, and being knowne, the new king or heire, incontinent sent for all the gouernours, Captaines, and valiant souldiours, who had any office or charge to come vnto the buriall of his Father, and he that came not, from thence forth was helde for a Traytour and so punished. When the death of the olde king was certaine, then came all degrees of Estates and brought presents to the newe king, for the approbation of his kingdome, but if the king were not thought dead, but at the point of death, they the gates were shut in, and none permitted to enter, and when his life was departed, then beganne a generall crye and mourning, and they were permitted to come where their dead king lay, and to touche him with their handes: this being done, the carkasse was washed with swete waters, and then a fine shirte put vpon him, and a paire of shoes made of a Deere skinne put on his fete, and aboute his ancles were tied certaine helles of golde, about his twistes of his handes were put Spanyllias of Turkies, and other bracelets of golde, likewise aboute his necke, they hung other collers of precious stones and golde, and rings in his eares, with a greate Turke in his neather lippe, Then his body was laide vpon a large heare, whereon was placed a good hedde vnder him: on his one side lay a bolue with a quyner of arrowes, and on his

his other side lay an image made of fine mantels of his owne stature & highnesse, with agreate tuffe of fine feathers, shewes vpon his ferte, with bracelets, and a collar of gold. While his worke was a doing, others were busied in washing the men and women whiche shoulde be slaine for to accompany him into Hell: these wretched folke that shoulde be slaine were banqueted & filled with drinke, because they shoulde receiue their death with lesse paine. The newe king did appoint those who shoulde die for to serue the king his father, but yet many of them had rather haue bene without his seruice, notwithstanding some simple soules esteemed that odious death for a thing of immortall glory. First, seuen Gentlewomen of noble parentage were appointed to die, the one to haue the office of keeper of his iewels which he was wont to weare, another for the office of cup-bearer, another to giue him water with a bason and ewer, another to giue him alwaies the drinall, another to be his Cooke, and another to serue for laundresse. They slew also many woman slaves, and free maydens, for to attend vpon the Gentlewomen, and moreover, one of euery occupation within the cite. When all these that were appointed to die were washed & they bellies full with meate & drinke, then they painted their faces yellow, and put garlandes of sweete flowers vpon each of their heads. When they went in order of procession befoze the beare wheron the dead king was carried, some wente playing on instrumentes made of snaille shelles, others played vpon bones and shelles of seaturtills, others went whistling, and the most part weeping: the sonnes of the dead king & other noble men carried vpon their shoulders the beare where he coule lay, & proceeded with an easie pace towarde the Temple of the God Curicaueri: his kinsmen went round about the beare, singing a sorrowfull song. The officers and household seruants of the Court & other

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Magistrates and rulers of iustice bare the Standards and
diners other armes.

About midnight they departed in the order aforesaide,
out of the kings pallace, with great light of fire byandles,
and with a heauie noyse of trumpets and drummes. The
Citizens which dwelt where the coyle passed, attended to
make cleane the strête. And when they were come to the
temple, they went foure times rounde about a great fire
made of the wood of Vine tre, which was prepared to burn
the dead bodie: then the beare was laide vpon the fire,
and in the meane while that the bodie was burning, they
mailed with a clubbe those which had the garlandes, and
afterward buried them by foure and foure, as they were
apparelled behinde the temple.

The next day in the morning, the ashes, bones and Jewels,
was gathered & laide vpon a rich mantle, the which
was carried to the temple gate, where the priests attended
to blesse those diuellish relikes, wherof they made a dowe
or passe, and thereof an image which was apparelled lyke
a man, with a visor on his face, and all other sorts of Jewels
that the dead king was wont to weare, so that it seemed
a gallant idoll. At the fote of the temple staires, they
opened a graue ready made, which was square, large, and
two fadom deep, it was also hanged with new mats round
about, and a faire bed therin, in the which a religious man
placed the idoll made of ashes, with his eyes towarde the
East part, and hung round about the walles, Targets of
gold and silver, with bow and arrowes, and many gallant
tusses of feathers, with earthen vessels, as pottes, dishes,
and platters, so that the graue was filled vp with house-
hold stuffe, chests covered with leather, apparell, icwells,
weate, drinke, and armoz. This done, the graue was shut
vp, and made sure with beames, boards, and flozed with
earth on the toppe.

All those Gentlemen which had serued or touched any thing in the buriall, washed themselves, and went to dinner in the Court or yard of the Kings house without any fable, and hauing dined, they wiped their hands vpon certaine lockes of Cotton woll, hanging betwene their heads, and not speaking any woꝛde, except it were to aske for drinke. This Ceremonie endured five dayes, and in all that time no fire was permitted to be kindled in the City, except in the kings house and temples, noꝛ yet any coꝛne was ground, or market kept, noꝛ none durst go out of their houses, shewing all the soꝛow that might be possible foꝛ the death of their king.

The order of Matrimony among the Indians.



In Tlaxcallan and many other cities, was vsed a principall ceremonie and token of mariage, that þe Bridegrome and his Bride, agaynst the day of mariage, had their heaues polled, which was to signifie, that from that day foꝛwarde, all childish oꝛders shoulde bee laide aside, and from that time newe haire might grow, to declare another kinde of life. The chise knot of mariage vsed in Michuacan, was, that the Bride doe looke directly vpon her spouse, foꝛ otherwise the matrimonie was not perfitte, noꝛ auailable.

In Mixteopan which is a great pꝛouince, they vse to carrie the Bridegrome to be married vpon their backs, which is to be vnderstode, that he goeth against his will, but yet they take handes, in token that the one shall helpe the other, and then they knit both their mantels together with a great knot, signifying that they ought continually, wylle life lasteth, to dwell together.

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The Indians called Macatecas, consume not their Patrimonic in twentie dayes after their marriage, but abide in fasting and prayer all that while, sacrificing their bodies, and anointing the mouthes of the Idols with their owne proper blood.

In Panuco the husbandes buy their wiues for a bow, two arrowes, and a nette, and afterward the father in lawe speaketh not one worde to his sonne in lawe for the space of a whole yeare. And when the husband happeneth to haue any childe, he lieth not any moze with his wife in two yeares after, for feare least she might be with childe againe befoze the former childe were out of daunger, although some doe sucke untill twelue yeares of age, and for this consideration they haue many wiues. Likewise there is an order among them, that no woman may touch or dresse any thing being with their mensruall or dinarie.

Dinocement was not permitted without a iust cause and authoritie of Justice, among those who were openly married, but the other sort might be as easily forsaken as taken.

In Mechuacan was not permitted any dinocement, except the partie made a solemne oath, that they looked not the one on the other stedfastly and directly at the time of their marriage. But in Mexico they must proue how the wife is barren, scule, and of a naughtie condition: but if they put away their wiues without order and commandement of the Iudge, then the haire of the offenders head is burned in the market place, as a shame or punishment of a man without reason or wit.

The paine of adulterie was death, as well for the man as the woman: but if the adulterer were a Gentleman, his head was decked with feathers after that he was hanged, and his bodie burned, and for this offence was no pardon,

pardon, eyt her for man or woman, but for the auoiding of adulterie, they doe permit other common women, but no ordinarie strewes.

Of the Iudges and order of Iustice.

In Mexico were twelue Iudges, who were all noble men, graue, and well learned in the Mexican lawes. These men liued onely by the rents that properly appertaine to the maintenaunce of Iustice, and in anie cause iudged by them, it was lawfull for the parties to appeale vnto other twelue Iudges, who were of the princes blood, and alwayes abode in the Court, and were maintained at the Kings owne cost and charges. The inferior Iudges came ordinarily once euery moneth to consult with the higher. And in euery fourescore dayes came the Iudges of euery Province within the Mexican Empire, to consult with the Iudges of Mexico, but all doubtful causes were reserved to the King, onely to passe by his order and determination. The Painters serued for notaries, to paint all the cases which were to be resolved, but no sute passed aboue fourescore dayes without finall end and determination. There were in that citie twelue Sergeants, whose office was to arrest, and to call parties before the Iudges. Their garments were painted mantels, wherby they were knowne a farre off. The prisons were vnder ground, moyst and darke, the cause whereof, was to put the people in feare to offend. If any witnesse were called to take an oath, the order was, that he shoulde touch the ground with one of his fingers, and then to touch his tongue with the same, which signified that he had sworne and promised to speake the troth with his tong, taking witnes therof, of y^e earth which did maintaine him. But some do interprete the oath, y^f the parties were not

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not true, that then he might come to such extremitie, as to eate earth. Sometime they name and call vpon the God of the crime, whose cause the matter touched.

The Iudge that taketh bribes or gifts, is forthwith put out of his office, which was accounted a most vile and shamefull reproch. The Indians did affirme that Necualpincineli did hang a Iudge in Tezcucio, for giuing an vniust sentence, he himselte knowing the contrarie. The murder is executed without exception.

The woman with childe that wilfully casteth her creature, suffereth death for the same, because many women did voluntarily vse that fact, knowing their childzen could not inherite. The punishment of adulterie was death.

The Thiefe for the first offence, was made a slaue, and hanged for the second. The traitor to the king and common weale, was put to death with extreme torments.

The woman taken in mans apparell died for the same, and likewise the man taken in womans attire. Every one that chalengeth another to fight, except in the wars, was condemned to die. In Tezcucio the sinne of Zodomie was punished with death, and that law was instituted by Necualpincineli, and Necualcoio, who were Iudges, which abhorred that filthy sin, and therefore they deserued great praise, for in other prouinces that abhominable sinne was not punished, although they haue in those places common firewes, as in Panuco.

The order of cruell Sacrifice vsed among the Indians.

At the ende of euery twentie dayes, is celebrated a festiual feast called Tonalli, which falleth continually the last day of euery month, but the chiefest feast in the yere, when most men are sacrificed & eat, is at the

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the ende of every fiftie two yeares. But the Tlaxcaltecas and other common weales, do celebrate this feast everye fourth yeare.

The last day of the first moneth is called Tlacaxipeualiztli, on the whiche day were slaine a hundred slaues, which were taken in the warres, and after the sacrifice, their flesh was eaten in this order. All the Citizens, gathered themselues together in the high Temple, and then the Ministers or Priestes came and bled certaine ceremonies, the which being ended, they took those which were to be sacrificed, by one and one, and laid them vppon their backs vppon a large stone, and then the slaue being on line, they opened him in the breast, with a knife made of flinte stone, and took out his heart, which they threw immediately at the fote of the Altar, as an offering, and anointed with the fresh bloude, the face of the God Vitzilopucheli, or any other Idoll. This done, they pluckt off the skinnies of a certaine number of them, the which skinnies so many ancient persons put incontinent vppon their naked bodies, all freshe & bloudy, as they were cleane from the deade carcases. And being open in the backe part and shoulders, they bled to lace them, in such sorte that they came fitte vppon the bodies of those that wore them, and being in this order attired, they came to daunce among many others. In Mexico the king him selfe did put on one of these skinnies, being of a principall captiue, and daunced among the other disguised persons, to exalte and honoꝝ the feast, and an infinite number followed him to behold his terrible lecture, although some hold opinion that they followed him to contemplate his greate deuotion. After the sacrifice ended, the owner of the slaues did carry their bodies home to their houses, to make of their flesh a solemne feaste to all their friends, leauing their heades and hartes to the

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the Priestes, as their dutie and offering. And the skinner were filled with cotten wolle, or strawe, to be hung in the temple, and kings pallsaice, for a memorie.

The slanes when they went to their sacrifice, were apparelled in the habite or deuile of the Idol vnto whom each of them did commend himselfe: and mozeouer they decked them with feathers, garlandes and floures. Many of these sort of people, do goe to the slaughter with ioyfull countenance, dauncing, demanding almes through the Citie for their sacrifice, all the which almes is due vnto the priestes. When the graine corne was a sote above the ground, they used to go vnto a certain hil which was appointed for such deuotion, and there sacrificed two children, a boy, and a girle of thre yeres of age, to the hono^r of Tlaloc god of water, beseeching him therefore monethly, to haue alwaies a care to prouide them water: these children were free borne, and therfore they hartes were not taken out of their bodies, but after that their throats were cut, their bodies were wrapped in a new mantel, and then buried in a graue of stone.

The feast of Tozoztli was, when the fieldes of Maiz were growen two fote high, then a certaine summe of merchandise was gathered among the dwellers in the towne, wherewith were bought foure little slanes betwixt the age of five and seven, and they were likewise sacrificed to the god Tlaloc, for continuall shoures of rayne. And those dead bodies were shut vp in a cane appointed for the same purpose. The beginning of this sacrifice of foure children was, at the time when in foure yeares space it rained not, in the which season the springs were dried vp, and all graine things perished: wherefore they were forced to leaue the countrey, and went to inhabit at Nicaragua. In the moneth and feast of Hueitcozotli, when the corne fieldes of Maiz waxed ripe, then c
uery

uery one in generall gathered his handfull of Maiz, and brought it vnto the temple for an offering, with a certaine drinke called Atuli, whiche is made of the same Maiz. They brought also the swete gum Copalli to sende the gods which do teache the corne to growe: and also that might they ceased not dauncing without drunkennesse. At the beginning of summer they celebrate an other feast called Tlaxuchimcaco, with all kinde of Roses and swete floures that might be gotten, and thereof they vsed to make garlandes to set vpon the Idols heades, and so spent all that day in dauncing. And to celebrate the feast called Tecuilhuicli, al the gentlemen, and principall persons of ech prouince, do come vnto the Citie, on the euening of the feast, and then they apparell a woman with the attire of the Gods of salt, who daunced among a great company of her neighbours. But on the nexte day she was sacrificed with all the Ceremonies and solemnities accustomed, and all that day was spent in great deuotion, burning of incense in the fire painnes of the temple.

The merchants who had a temple by themselves dedicated to the god of gaires, made their feast vpon the day called Miccailhuitl, wherein they seldome many slaves in sacrifice, which they had bought, and banqueted that feast with mans flesh, dauncing all the day. The feast of Vchpanitzli they sacrificed a woman, and afterwarde her bodie was staine, and her skinne put vpon an Indians backe, who daunced two dayes a row with al the townsmen, which were apparelled in their best attire to celebrate the feast. The day of Hatamatzli the feast is kept in Mexico, where they enter into the lake wth a greate nuber of Canoas, & there they drown a boy & a girle in a little boat, which they cause to be sunke, in such sorte, that neuer after that boat appeareth again: & they hold opinion that those

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those children were in company with the Goddess of the lake. So that, that daye was spent in feasting in the temples, and anointing the Idols cheekes, with gum called Villi. There were some Images that had their faces two inches thicke with that gum.

The order of certaine religious
women.



At the backe-side of enerye greates Temple, in enerye Citty was made a greates Hall or lodging, standing alone, where as many womē did eate, drinke, lodge, and leade their liues. And although such houses had no orders, they abode there sure inough. These woman which lay in the houses of the Gods, were of sundry intentions. But none of them came to abide there all their life time, although among them were some olde women. Some entered into those religious houses being sicke and diseased, hoping there to recouer their health: others came thither through pure neede, and necessitie, to be there relieved: other some came thither to be good and vertuous: and some entered into the religion, hoping that the Goddess would giue unto them riches, and long life. But generallye their comming thither was, to haue god husbandes, and many children: eche one of them vowed the time that she would ordment to abide in that order, and after that time expired they married.

The first thing that they did comming into the religion, was to polle their heads, to be knowne from others. Their

Their offices were to spinne cotton woll and feathers, and to weaue cloth, soz to apparell the Goddes and themselves, to sweep the yarde and loogings in the temple (soz the stayres and high chappels, the ministers themselues did make cleane) they bled also to let them blond in certaine partes of the body, to offer to the Dinellish Idols. On euery festiual day they went on procession with the priestes, but it was not lawfull soz them to pzelume to go vpp the staires of the temple, noz yet to sing. They liued on almes, soz their kinssolke being rich, did maintaine them with almes as a charitable seruice done vnto the Goddes: their soue was boyled flesh, and hote bread, to the intent that they should offer thereof to the Goddes, that they might tast of the smoke of that victual: they bled to eate in communitie, and lay altogither in one bozmito, ye, as a flocks of sheepe: they lay alwaies in theyz clothes, soz honestie sake, and also to be the soner ready in the morning to serue the Gods, & to go to their wozke. And yet I know not why they should put off their clothes, soz they went almost naked. On the holy dayes they bled to daunce befoze the Gods, and she that either talked oz laughed with any religious oz secular person, was reprehended soz the same. And if any of them committed whoredome, then both the man and the womā were slain, yea they beleued that all suche offenders fleshe woulde rotte and consume away, and especially those which had lost their Mergitte in the time of their religion, so that with feare of punishmente and infamie, they were good women all the while that they aboad there.

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How the Diuell appeared to the Indians.



The Diuell did many times talke with the Priestes and with other rulers and perticular persons; but not with all sorts of men. And vnto him to whome the Diuel had appeared, was offered and presented great gifts. The wicked spirit appeared vnto them in a thousand shapcs, and fashions, and finally hee was conuerfant and familiar among them verie often. And the fooles thought it a great wonder, that Gods would be so familiar with mortall men. Yea they not knowing that they were Diuels, and hearing of them many things befoze they had happened, gave great credite and beleefe to their illusions and deceits. And because he commanded them, they sacrificed such an infinite number of creatures. Liketwise, hee vnto whom hee had appeared, carried about him painted, the likenesse wherein he shewed himselfe the first time. And they painted his image vpon their dozes, benches, and enerie cozner of the house. And as he appeared in sundrie figures and shapcs, euen so they painted him, of infinite fashions, yea and some soule, grieuouse and fearefull to behold, but yet vnto them, it seemed a thing delectable. So this ignoraunt people giuing credite to the condemned spirit, were growne euen to the highest hill of crueltye, vnder the coloz of deuout and religious persons, yea they had such a custome, that befoze they would eate or drinke, they would take a little quantitie, and offer it vnto the Sunne and to the earth. And if they gather cozne, fruite, or roses, they would take a leafe befoze they would smell it, and offer the same, and he that did not obserue these and such other ceremonies, was iudged one that had not

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not God in his heart, yea, and (as they say) a man out of Gods fauour.

The Viceroyes of Mexico.



The greatnesse of the newe Spaine, the Pateſſie of Mexico, and the qualitie of the conquerours, required a man of notable bloud to gouerne, whereupon the Emperour ſent thither Don Antonio de Mendosa, brother vnto the Marques de Moniár, for Viceroy, at whose arrivall there returned from thence Sebastian Camires, who had gouerned that countrey with great discretion, and worthy commendation. In recompence whereof the Emperour made him President of the Chancerie of Vallodolid, and Bishop of Culuca. Don Antonio de Mendosa, was appointed viceroy in the yeare. 1534. who carried with him many artificers verie expert in their sciences, likewise through his intercession, a money house was erected in Mexico: he also caused silke to be made and wrought in that countrey, and planted many Pulberie trees for the same, Although the Indians little care for such things through their slothfulnes and great liberty. This viceroy Don Antonio, called all the Bishops, Cleargie, and learned men together, to consult vpon ecclesiasticall matters, which tended to the doctrine of the Indians. At that instant was decreed, that the Indians should be instructed onely in the Latin tong, which they learned very wel, and also the Spanishe tong. They learned the Musicke with good will, especially the flaute: their voyces are not good for the pyckie song. At that season was also decreed, that no Indian should take order of Priesthood.

The

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The vizeroy Don Antonio, built certaine towne with Romaine pillars, in honoz of the Emperour, and caused his name to be grauen in Marble. He also began the keye wharfe in the porte of Medellin, a costly and necessaries worke: he also reduced the Chichimecas to ciuill lining: he spent much mony in the entraunce of Sibola, without any profit, and also thereby remained an enemy to Cortes. He likewise discovered much land on the south coast nere Xalisco: he sent also shippes to Molloca, for spices, which were lost: he behaved himselfe very prudently, in the rebellion time of the Indians of Piru.

The Emperour commanded him afterwarde to goe into the Piru for vizeroy, considering the Licenciat Gasca, who gouerned there, was returned into Spaine, and likewise hauing understood his good gouernement in the new Spaine, although some complaints were made of him. It grieved Don Antonio de Mendosa, to depart from the new Spaine, where he found himselfe well beloued among the Indians, who had cured him of sundry diseases with bathes of Herbes, where before he was starke lame, and also possessed of lands, Cattle, and other rich things, which he was loth to leaue. Likewise he desired not to haue to deale with other new men, whose conditions he knew not, although he knewe that the Piruleros were stubbozne and unruly fellows. But of necessity he was compelled to take that iourney by lande from Mexico to Panama, which standeth five hundred leagues distant, in the yeare 1551. And that yeere came Don Luys de Valasco for vizeroy to Mexico, who was a Gentleman wise and discret in his gouernement. The office of vizeroy in the new Spaine, is a charge of great honoz and profit.

The

The conuerſion of the
Indians.

O how greatly are thoſe Indians bound to praiſe
God, who being ſeruaunts of Satan, and loſt ſhepe,
yet it pleaſed the goodneſſe of the almightie to haue
compaſſion of them, who haſt giuen them light to
come out of darkeneſſe, and brought them to the knoweledge
of their cruell and abhominable life; and haſt now giuen
vnto them the holy Ghoſt in baptiſme: oh moſt happie
Cortez, thy paines was well imployed, oh valiant Con-
querors, your names ſhall liue for euer. I am now bolde
to ſay, that all that lande which is conquered in the newe
Spaine, the people therof are generally conuerted vnto the
faith of Jeſus Chriſte: oh what a great felicitie is it vnto
thoſe bleſſed ſoules who were the beginners thereof.

Some doe ſaye, that in the newe Spaine onely are con-
uerted Chriſtians ſixe millions. Others hold opinion of
eight millions. And other ſome doe aſſuredly affirme,
that aboue ten millions are Chriſtened. But in conclu-
ſion, I am aſſured, that within the limittes of foure hun-
dred leagues, there are none vnchriſtened.

The conuerſion began with the Conqueſt, but with the
diligence in preſecuting the warres, little good was done,
vntill the yeare 1524. and then the matter went forward
effectually, by reaſon that certaine learned menne wente
thither for the ſame purpoſe.

At the beginning it was a troubleſome thing to
teach them, for wante of vnderſtanding the one of the o-
ther, wherefore they procured to teache the children of
Gentlemen which were moſt apteſt, the Spaniſhe tong,

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and they likewise learned the Mexican speech, in the which language they daily preached. It was at the first a painfull thing to make them leaue those Idols in whome they had euer belerued, yea and the diuell gaue them cruell warres in spirite, and many times, in appearing in diuers formes vnto them, threatening, that if they did call vpon the name of Iesus Christ, it should not raine, and that all their delight and pleasure should bee taken from them, prouoking them still to rebellion against the Christians, but his wicked counsell would not preuaile.

Through great punishment they haue left off the horrible sinne of Sodomie, although it was a great griefto put away their number of wines.

There are now in the new Spaine eight Bishopricks, whereof one is an Archbishopricke.

The death of Hernando Cortes.



There was a great contention betwene Hernando Cortes, and Don Antonio de Mendosa, the Viceroy, as concerning the prouince of Sibola, for each of them possessed a title vnto the same through the Emperours gift, the one by moanes of his office of Viceroy, and the other by his office of Captaine Generall, vpon the which matter they grew into great hatred, that perfect friendship could neuer after take place betwene them, although at the beginning they were familiar and loving friends: but mallice grew to such extremities, that each of them wrote vnderently against other, to the Emperour their maister, the which their doings, blemished both their credits.

Cortes

the west India.

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Cortes went to lawe with the Licenciat Villa Lobos, the Kings Atturney, about certaine of his vassalls, and also the Wizeroy assisted againste him as muche as he might. Upon consideration whereof, he was enforced to come into Spaine in Anno. 1540. and brought Don Martin his sonne and heire; being a child of eight yeares of age, and his sonne Don Luys, to serue the prince: he came very rich, but not so rich as the first time. He entred into great friendship with the Cardinall Loaisa, and the Secretarie Cobos, but it premissed not, for the Emperoz was gone into Flaunders about matters of Gant.

In the yeare 1541 the Emperour personally went to the siege of Argel, with a mightie army, and Cortes with his two sonnes went also thither to serue him, with a good company of men and horses; but it pleased God to raise vp such a tempest, where with the most part of the flete perished. Cortes then being in the Galley of Don Henrike Enriques, called the Esperanca, and fearing to lose his rich Emraldes and other Jewels, at the time that the Galley was dyen by violence of weather vpon the thore, he then bound about him the said fine rich Emraldes, valued in a hundred thousande Duchates; yet notwithstanding through the throng of people, and haste to escape out of sea and mire, the Jewels fell from him, who could neuer heare more of them, so that the present warres cost him more then any other, except the Emperours matellie, although Andrea de Oria lost eleven Gallies.

But the losse of treasure grieved him not so much, as the excluding him out of the Councell of the warres, whereas other young Gentlemen of lesse knowledge and abilitie were accepted, which was a cause of great murmuring among the soldiers. And where in the Councell of warre it was determined to leaue the siege and to depart, it grieved many, where vpon Cortes made an open offer,

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that he alone with the Spanish nation would presume to take Argell, hauing but the one halfe of the Tudecos and Italians, if it would please the Emperour to graunt vnto him the enterprize. The Souldiers on the land did highly commende his courage, but the Seamen would giue no eare vnto him, so that it is thought that the offer came not to the Emperours knowledge. Cortes went by and dwone in the Courte a long season, being soze afflicted, in a certaine sute about his vassals, and also the processe and allegations of Nunio de Guzman, laide vnto his charge in his residence. The whole processe was sene in the counsell of Indias, but the iudgemente was neuer pronounced which was a greate hartes ease for Cortes. And then he departed from the Courte toward Siuill, with determinate will to passe vnto the newe Spaine, and to end his life in Mexico, and also to receiue the Lady Marie, Cortes his daughter, who was come from India, and promised in marriage vnto Don Aluar Perez Osorio, with a hundred thousand Ducketes in dowry, and her apparel, but the marriage took no effecte, through the faulte of Don Aluar and his father.

He then fell sicke of a fire and indigestion, which endured long, so that on his iourney towarde the Citie of Siuill, he departed this transitorie life, in a little Willage called Castilleja de La Cuesta, which standeth a mile from the citie of Siuill, on the second of December, Anno 1547, being thre score and thre yeares of age.

His body was deposited with the dukes of Medina Sidonia.

He left a sonne and thre daughters begotten of the Lady Iane de Zuniga, his wife, his sonne was called Don Martin Cortes, who did inherit his fathers estate, and was married vnto the lady Ana de Arellano, his cousin, daughter to the Countie, De Aguilar, by order of his father.

The

The daughters unto Cortes were named as followeth, the Ladie Dona Maria, Dona Catalina, and Dona Isabella who was the yongest. He had another sonne by an Indian woman, and he was called Don Martin Cortez. He had also another base sonne by a Spanish woman, who was named Don Luis Cortes, & three daughters by three severall Indian women.

Cortes built an Hospital in Mexico, and gave order for a Colledge to be also erected there. He built also a Temple in Coioacan, where he willed in his Testament that bones should be buried at the charges of his sonne and heire. He situated foure thousand Duckets of rent, which yeildeth yearly his houses in Mexico for the purpose aforesaid, of the which foure thousand

Duckets, two thousand should be to maintaine the students in the Colledge.

FINIS.



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